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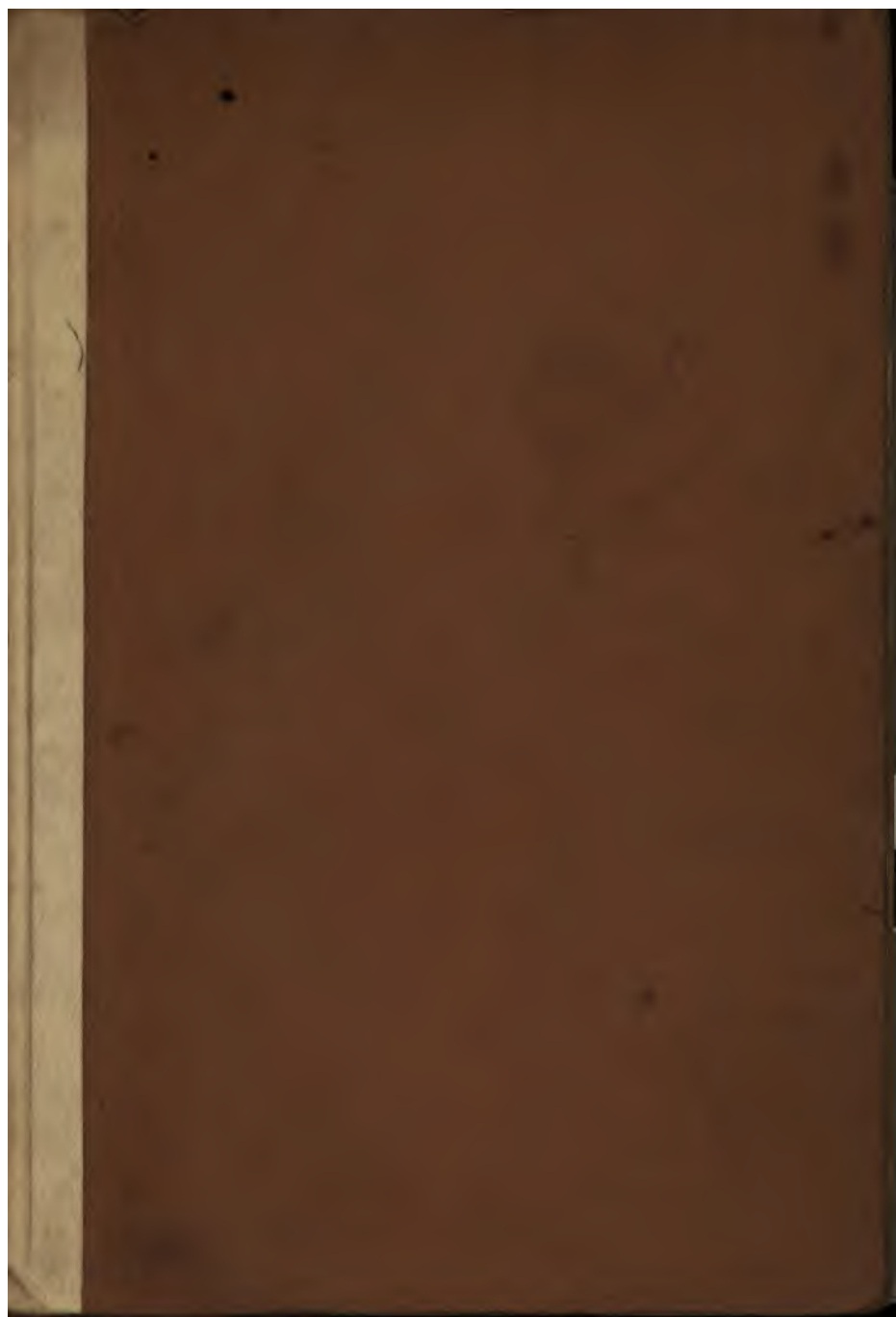
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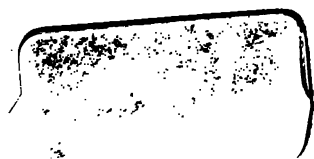
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1







CÆSAR
DE BELLO GALLICO,

BOOKS IV. & V.,

LITERALLY TRANSLATED,

WITH NOTES,

BY J. W. RUNDALL, B.A.,
(*Scholar of Pembroke College.*)

CAMBRIDGE:—J. HALL & SON;

LONDON:—JIMPKIN, MARSHALL & CO.; HAMILTON & CO.

AND BELL & SONS.

1884.

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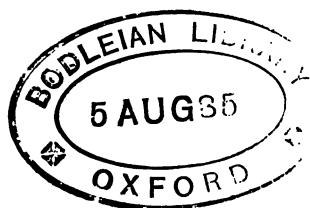
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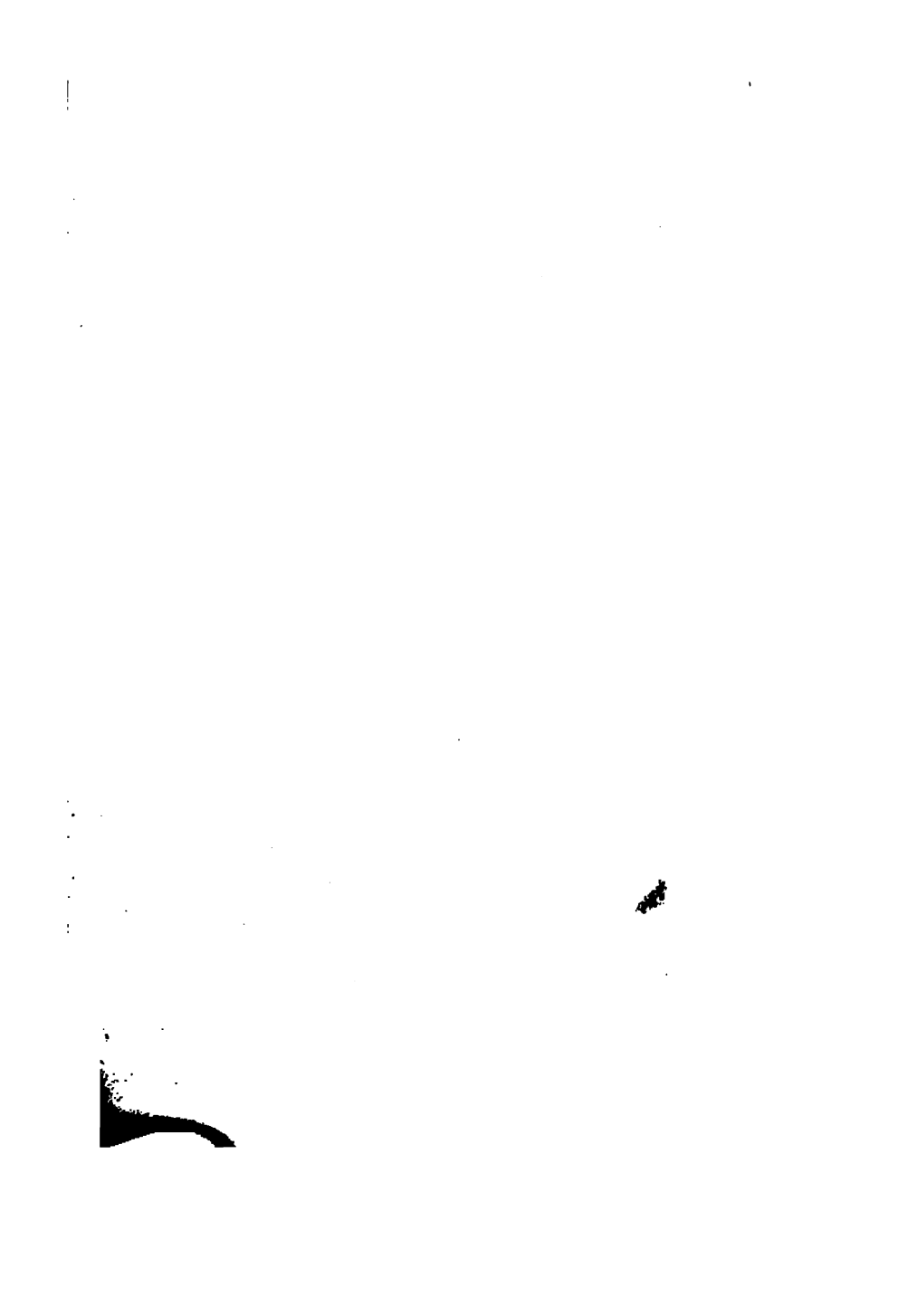
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As the object in this translation has been to obtain clearness of the meaning, with, at the same time, as literal a rendering as possible, brackets have been freely used to insert words which are not in the Latin, but the insertion of which helps to improve the sense. Occasionally, too, brackets have been employed in some of the longer and more complicated sentences for the sake of marking off dependent clauses, in order that the construction may be more easily seen. In such cases as these, good English could only be attained by means of a free translation.



C. JULIUS CÆSAR'S COMMENTARIES,

ABOUT

THE GALLIC WAR.

BOOK FOUR.

1. IN the following winter, which was the year when Gneus Pompeius, and Marcus Crassus were consuls, the Usipetes, a German tribe, and also the Tencteri crossed the river Rhine with a large number of people, not far from the sea, into¹ which the Rhine flows. The reason of their crossing was that having been driven out by the Suebi for several years, they were being hard pressed (by them) in war and prevented from cultivating the soil. The nation of the Suebi is by far the largest and most warlike of all the Germans. These are said to possess 100 districts, from which year by year they lead out from their territory bodies of armed men, 1000 from each², for the sake of fighting. The rest, who have stayed at home, provide-sustenance-for themselves and those men. The latter again in turn a year afterwards take the field³, the former remain at home. So neither agriculture nor the theory and practice of war is checked. But they have no private and separate land⁴ nor are they allowed (*lit.* nor is it lawful) to remain longer than a year in one place for the

1. *quo adv. lit.* "whither."

2. *singula, lit.* means "one each;" it distributes the *millia* (=bodies-of-a-thousand) among the separate pagi.

3. *Lit.* are in arms.

4. *Lit.* There is nothing of private and separate land among them.

sake of inhabiting it'. Nor do they live much upon corn, but for the most part² on milk and meat, and they are much given to the chase; which circumstance both by the kind of food, and by the daily exercise and the freedom of their life, (because from boyhood being trained³ by no duty or discipline, they do absolutely nothing contrary to their own desire) both nourishes their strength and makes them men of gigantic bodily stature.⁴ And they brought themselves into this custom that in the coldest places they had⁵ no clothing except skins, (owing to the smallness of which, a great part of their body is uncovered) and that they bathed in the rivers. 2. There is admittance for merchants more in in order that (*eo ut*) they may have (men) to whom they may sell the things which they have taken in war than for the reason that (*quo*) they desire anything to be imported to them. Moreover the Germans do not use beasts that have been imported, with which the Gauls are especially pleased and which they obtain (*lit.* prepare, get) at a high price, but (the animals) which are bred among them, (although) ill-shaped and ugly, these they make so as to be fit for⁶ the greatest labour by daily exercise. In cavalry battles they often leap from their horses and fight on foot, and they have trained their horses to remain in the same spot, to which (horses) they hastily retire when there is need; nor according-to-their-customs is anything held to be more disgraceful or cowardly than to use saddles. And so as few as you please (*lit.* however few) dare to attack any number you please of horsemen that-use-saddles. They do not allow wine to be brought in to them at all because they think that by that thing men become softened, for enduring toil and become effeminate. 3. In state matters they think it to be the greatest praise that the lands should lie unoccupied to as wide a distance as possible from their own boundaries; (they consider) that by this thing is signified that a large number of states cannot resist their power. And

1. i.e. as a fixed residence.

2. Acc. of respect.

3. *Lit.* accustomed, habituated.

4. *immani mag.* abl. of quality with epithet. *Lit.* "men with gigantic stature of bodies."

5. Here observe the first clause begins with *neque*, and should be followed by another beginning also with *neque*; but the next one is introduced by *et* instead. Therefore the *neque* must be split up into "*et non*;" so we get "*et non vestitus quicquam habent et...lavarentur.*" in which "*et non quicquam vestitus*" = "and nothing of clothing" like *nihil agri* above.

6. "*lit* for 'expressed by the gen. of quality.

so on one side from the Suebi about 600 miles of land are said to lie unoccupied. The Ubii reach up to the other side, whose state was (once) large and flourishing, ¹(so far) as is the capacity of the Germans, and they are a little more civilized than the rest of the same race, because they border on the Rhine, and merchants frequently come to them and they themselves have become used to Gaulish customs on account of their nearness. When the Suebi, after-having-*tried* (*experti*) often in many wars to drive these men from their boundaries on account of the greatness and importance of their state, had not been able (to do so), nevertheless they (the Suebi) made them tributary to them and reduced them to a humbler and weaker condition. 4. In the same case were the Usipetes and Tencteri, whom we mentioned above, who for several years resisted the power of the Suebi; nevertheless at length having been driven from their lands and having wandered for three years in many parts of Germany they reached the Rhine; which districts the Menapii used to inhabit and used to have fields, houses and villages on either bank of the river, but being panic-stricken by the approach of so large a multitude they forsook those houses which they had possessed across the river, and having stationed garrisons on this side of the Rhine, they tried to prevent the Germans from crossing, they having tried every means (*lit.* all things) when they were able neither to force² their way on account of their want of ships nor to cross secretly on account of the guards of the Menapii, pretended that they were returning to their own homes and districts and having advanced a journey of three days they returned back-again and,—all this journey having been accomplished in a single night, by riding—they crushed the Menapii off their guard³ and not expecting them, who, having been informed by scouts about the departure of the Germans, had returned across the Rhine without fear into their own villages. These having been slain and their ships seized before that portion of the Menapii, which was on this side of the Rhine could be informed, they crossed the river and having seized all the buildings of those men they sustained themselves for the rest of the winter with their stores. 5. Cæsar having been informed about these things and fearing the weak-character of

1. *i.e.* considering the capacity.

2. *Lit.* to struggle over by force.

3. *Lit.* ignorant.

the Gauls, because they are unstable in making plans and are especially fond of change,¹ thought that nothing should be entrusted to these. For this is (a part) of the Gaulish habit both to compel travellers to stop, even against their will, and to ask what each of them has heard or learnt about each thing and (it is a habit)² for the common-people to surround merchants in the towns and compel them to relate both from what regions they come and what things they have learnt there. Influenced by these facts and what they hear they often enter upon plans about the most important affairs, of which they must repent at the outset, since they give heed to (*lit.* slavishly follow) uncertain reports and most men answer things-made-up to suit their desire (*i. e.* adapt their answers to please the Gauls). 6. Having learnt this habit (of theirs) Cæsar, in-order-not-to involve himself in a more serious war, sets out for the army earlier than he had been accustomed. When he had come thither he learnt that those things had happened which he had suspected would come to pass: that embassies had been sent by some states to the Germans and that they had been invited to depart from the (neighbourhood of) the Rhine and a promise made that all things which they should demand, would be prepared on their part. Attracted by which hope, the Germans began to wander farther and had reached to the territory of the Eburones and Condrusi, who are dependents of the Treveri. The chiefs of the Gauls having been called out, Cæsar thought that those things which he had learnt should be concealed by him and, their minds having been soothed and encouraged and cavalry having been ordered,³ he determined to wage war with the Germans. 7. The provisions having been prepared and the cavalry chosen he begins to march into that neighbourhood (*lit.* those places) where he heard that the Germans were. And when he was distant from them⁴ a journey of a few days, ambassadors came from these, whose speech was as follows: "that neither did the Germans⁵ before them (*lit.* the former Germans) wage

1. *Novis rebus, lit.* new things dat. governed by student.

2. Understand here again "*consuetudo est ut.*" *N. B. uti=ut.*

3. *i. e.* the Gauls were ordered to supply a certain amount of cavalry for Cæsar.

4. Split "*a quibus*" into *et ab iis*. *Cum=quum*: read the Latin thus "*et quum ab iis.....abisset.*"

5. *Germanos* is subject to all the infs. in this speech: therefore the reflexive pronoun '*se*' is not needed (except once) because the ambassadors spoke of themselves in the third person "*The Germans do not make war...the Germans were driven out*" &c. not "*We do not make war, we were driven out.*"

war against the Roman people nor yet did they refuse, if provoked, to fight it out (*lit.* strive with arms), because this custom of the Germans was handed down from their ancestors, whosoever makes war upon them, to resist, and not to beg off. That they said this however, that they had come against their will, having been driven from home; if the Romans wish for their favour, they (the Germans) can be useful to them as friends; they (the Romans) should either assign them lands or suffer them to keep those which they have won by arms: that they gave way to the Suebi only, to whom not even the immortal gods could be equal; that there is no one else left in the world whom they can not overcome."

8. To these things Cæsar answered what seemed (good); but the close of his speech was: "That he could have no friendship with them if they remained in Gaul; nor is it just that those who have not been able to protect their own lands should seize those of other men; nor are any lands in Gaul unoccupied, which can be given without injury especially to such a multitude; but that they may, if they wish, settle on the territory of the Ubii, whose ambassadors are with him and are complaining about the injuries of the Suebi and are seeking help from him: that he will give this order to the Ubii." 9. The ambassadors said that they would take this message back to their people, and, when the matter had been considered, that they would return after three days to Cæsar: meantime they asked him not to move his camp nearer to them. Cæsar said that not even that (request) could be obtained from him. For he had learnt that a large part of the cavalry had been sent by them across the Mosa to the Ambivariti, several days previously for the purpose of plundering and foraging: he thought that these horsemen were being waited for, and that a delay was being created for the sake of that thing.

10. The Mosa flows out from Mount Vosegus, which is in the territory of the Lingones, and after receiving from the Rhine a certain portion which is called the Vacalus and makes the island of the Batavi, flows into the sea, and not more than eighty miles from the sea it flows into the Rhine.¹ Now the Rhine rises from among the Lepontii who inhabit the Alps and in a long course runs swiftly through the territories of the Nantuates,

1. This is the translation of the text as it stands: see the note in Pease's edition for a more intelligible reading.

Helvetii, Sequani, Mediomatrices, Triboci, and Treveri, and when it has approached the sea, it flows into several parts, many very-large islands being made, a great portion of which is inhabited by wild beasts and barbarous nations, of whom there are some who are thought to live upon fish and birds' eggs, and it flows into the sea by many mouths (*lit.* heads).

11. When Cæsar was distant from the enemy not more than twelve miles, as had been determined the envoys return to him; who having met him on the march, prayed him earnestly not to advance further. When they did not gain¹ that request, they begged that he would send forward to those horsemen who had preceded the march and forbid them to fight, and that he would give themselves power to send envoys to the Ubii; and if their chiefs and senate should give them a promise on oath, on that condition which was proposed by Cæsar, they declared they would accept² it: for accomplishing these matters (they begged him) to grant³ them a space of three days. All these things Cæsar thought were tending in that same direction, that by the delay of three days having been interposed, their cavalry which were absent might return; however he said that he would advance on that day not further than four miles for the sake of obtaining-water: (he ordered them) to assemble⁴ there⁵ on the next day in as large numbers as possible that he might learn about their demands. Meanwhile he sends to the prefects who had gone on in front with all the cavalry, (men) to announce to them not to provoke the enemy to battle and if they themselves were provoked, to hold out until he himself had approached nearer with the army. 12. But the enemy, as soon as they saw our horsemen, whose number was 5000, though they themselves had not more than 800 horsemen, because those who had crossed the Mosa for the purpose of foraging had not yet returned, while our men were fearing nothing, because their (the German) envoys had a little before departed from Cæsar and that day had been begged for by these for a truce, made a charge and quickly routed our men;⁶ while they were rallying again, they (the Germans)

1. *impetro* always means 'to obtain by asking' i.e. obtain a request.

2. *Lit.* 'use it.'

3. *daret* subj. after "*petebant ut*" understood from above.

4. *convenirent.* subj. because in or. obl. representing an imperative of the or. recta.

5. *huc. lit. hither.* "come hither together."

6. In order to see the Principal sentence more clearly, bracket the parenthetical clauses from "*quorum erat*"...to "*petitus*."

leaped down on their feet according to their custom, and having stabbed the horses and unseated very many of our men, they put the rest to flight and drove them off in such panic that they did not stop from their flight before they had come in sight of our army¹. In that battle seventy four of our horsemen are slain and among these the gallant Piso the Aquitanian, who was born of a very noble family, whose grandfather had held the government in his own state, being styled a friend by our senate. This man, when he was bringing help to his brother who had been shut in by the enemy, rescued him from the danger, (and then) he himself though unseated, his horse having been wounded, resisted most courageously as long as he could: when he had fallen, after being surrounded and receiving many wounds, and his brother who had already escaped from the battle had noticed this from a distance, he (the brother) setting spurs to his horse charged the enemy and was slain. 13. This battle having occurred, Cæsar thought that neither ought envoys to be heard by him nor conditions to be accepted from them since, after begging for peace by fraud and trickery, they had made war without provocation: but to wait until the enemy's forces should be increased and the calvary return, he considered to be the utmost madness,² and, knowing the instability of the Gauls, he felt how much influence the enemy³ had obtained among them by one battle to whom he thought no space should be given for making plans. Having settled on these things and having shared his design with his lieutenants and the quæstor, that he might not miss any day for battle, an event occurred very advantageously, because on the morrow after that day, in the morning, the Germans with both the same treachery and dissimulation, came in crowds to him in the camp,⁴ all the chiefs and older men having been summoned, partly, as was said, for the purpose of clearing themselves, because yesterday they had fought a battle contrary to what⁵ had been said and they

1. *agmen* properly means a column of men marching. It is sometimes loosely applied to an army in a temporary camp (as here) when it is practically "on the march."

2. *Summæ dementiae*. A Partitive Gen. *lit.* "he considered it to be something of the utmost madness."

3. Observe *hostes* is nom. and does not agree with "*eos*," which refers to the Gauls.

4. *Lit.* "to the camp to him."

5. '*contra atque*,' sometimes '*contra ac*' is an idiom answering to our "contrary to what." cf. '*Amul ac*.'

had themselves begged for, partly in order to obtain anything¹ they could about the truce by using deceit. And Cæsar rejoicing that they had been brought to him ordered them to be detained; he himself led out all the forces from camp, and ordered the cavalry which he thought had been demoralized by the late battle to follow² the line of march. 14. The army having been drawn up in three divisions and a march of eight miles rapidly made, he arrived at the enemy's camp before³ the Germans could perceive what was being done, who, being terrified suddenly by all the circumstances, both by the swiftness of our approach and by the departure of their own men, space having been given them neither for taking counsel nor for seizing their arms, are utterly-confused whether it would be better to lead their forces against the enemy or to defend the camp or to seek safety in flight. And when their terror was displayed by the shouting and confusion, our soldiers spurred on by the treachery of the previous day burst into the camp. In which place those who were able to seize their arms quickly, withstood our men for a little and fought a battle among the carts and baggage: but the rest of the multitude of boys and women (for they had departed from home and crossed the Rhine with all their belongings) began to fly in all directions; to pursue whom Cæsar sent the cavalry. 15. The Germans, having heard the shout in the rear, when they saw their men being killed, having flung away their arms and deserted their standards of war, rushed out of the camp, and when they reached the confluence of the Mosa and the Rhine, after a great number had been killed from despair of any further escape,⁴ the remainder flung themselves into the river and these perished overcome by fear, weariness and the force of the current. Our men all safe to a man, very few having been wounded, (now delivered) from the fear of so great a war, since the number of the enemy⁵ had been 430,000, betook themselves back to the camp. Cæsar granted to those whom he had detained in camp, leave to depart. They, fearing the punishment and tortures of the Gauls whose fields they had molested, said

1. *Lit.* "that they might obtain, if they could (obtain) anything.

2. *Subsequi.* *sub* denotes following close behind *i. e.* for protection (not as a disgrace.)

3. *prius* and *quam* must be taken together: *priusquam*=before-that.

4. *lit.* "a great number having been killed, the rest of escape having been despaired of."

5. *Capitum*=heads *i. e.* persons, men: need not be translated.

they wished to remain with him. To these Cæsar granted freedom.

16. The German war being finished, Cæsar determined from many reasons that he ought to cross the Rhine; of which (reasons) the following was the most cogent, that since he saw the Germans were so easily induced to come into Gaul, he wished them to fear for their own possessions also, as-soon-as they should understand that the army of the Roman people both could and dared cross the Rhine. There was added to this also that portion of the cavalry of the Usipetes and Tencteri, which I have mentioned above had crossed the Mosa for the purpose of plundering and foraging and had not taken part in the battle, had, after the rout of their countrymen, retreated across the Rhine into the territory of the Sugambri and had joined themselves with them. And when Cæsar had sent messages to these to demand that they should surrender to him those men who had made war on himself and on Gaul, they answered: that the Rhine bounded the territory of the Roman people: if he thought that it was not right that Germans should cross into Gaul against his will, why should he demand anything across the Rhine to be under his rule and authority? But the Ubii, who alone of the tribes across the Rhine had sent envoys to Cæsar, had made friendship and had given hostages, earnestly besought that he would give them help, because they were being hard pressed by the Suebi; or, if he should be prevented by the business of state, (they begged him) only to bring his army across the Rhine: that that would be sufficient for them for a help and a hope for the future. That, so great was the name and prestige of that¹ army since Ariovistus had been defeated and this latest battle had taken place, even (reaching) to the furthest tribes of Germans, that they could be safe under the prestige and friendship of the Roman people. They promised a large supply of boats for carrying the army across. 17. Cæsar had determined to cross the Rhine from these reasons which I have recounted; but neither did he think it sufficiently safe to cross by means of boats, nor did he hold it worthy of his own dignity or that of the Roman people. And so, although the very great difficulty of building a bridge lay before him, on

1. or *ejus* may=his.

account of the breadth, swiftness and depth of the river, yet he thought that he ought to set about this vigorously¹ or otherwise that the army should not be led across.

He determined on this as the plan of the bridge. Two² beams a foot and a half in thickness, sharpened a little from the end (and) measured off to the depth of the river, he joined to one another at a distance of two feet. As³ soon as he had fastened these, after they had been sent down into the river by machines, and had driven them home with rammers, not straight down perpendicularly in the manner of a pile but sloping and like a gable, so that they might lean forward according to the set of the current, he also placed two opposite to these joined in the same manner at a distance of forty feet on⁴ the lower side directed against the force and rush of the current. Both these (sets of piles), after planks of two feet width had been let in above, as⁵ as much as (the distance by which) the joining of those beams was separated, were held apart by two bolts on each side at the very end (of the plank); and (the beams) being kept apart by these and lashed in opposite directions, so great was the strength of the work and the nature of the circumstances such that the⁶ greater the force of water that rushed upon it, the more strongly were they (the parts of the bridge) held bound together.

These (portions of the bridge) were joined together, by wood-work laid down at right angles (to the cross-planks) and were covered with joists and hurdles; and nevertheless piles also were driven in slantwise on the lower side of the stream, in order that being placed underneath instead of a buttress and

1. *contendo*=do a thing at full stretch, i. e. with vigour.

2. *бина* the distributive numeral is used because there were several *sets* of two beams, placed at intervals across the stream.

3. *Cum*=quum, see the note.

4. i. e. down the stream.

5. *quantum* &c. this seems to mean the *length* of the two foot planks. The piles were forty feet apart (probably from base to base, as the note says). The *junctura* of the piles would be less than forty feet apart and as Cæsar had not measured their exact distance, he describes the length of the planks which lay between them as *sufficient to reach that distance*.

6. *lit.* "By how much a greater force of water had hurled itself on it, by so much more closely bound together were they (i. e. the parts of the bridge) held.

7. *quæ...exciperent quæ* is final use of the relative.

joined with the whole work, they might stem the force of the stream and others (were placed) a small distance above the bridge, in order that if trunks of trees or boats should be sent (down) by the barbarians for the purpose of demolishing the work, the force of those things might be lessened by these defences and that they might not injure the bridge.

18. All the work having been finished in the ten days during which the wood had begun to be collected, the army is led across. Cæsar after leaving a strong garrison at either end of the bridge, hastens into the territory of the Sugambri. Meantime envoys come to him from several states, to whom, when they asked for peace and friendship he answered courteously and commands hostages to be brought to him. The Sugambri from that time when the bridge began to be prepared, having made ready an escape at the exhortation¹ of those whom they had amongst them from the Tencteri and Usipetes, had departed from their territory and had carried off all their goods with them and had hidden themselves in the wilderness and the woods.

19. Cæsar after delaying a few days in their territory, all the villages and buildings having been fired and the corn cut, returned to the territory of the Ubii, and after promising them his aid if they should be pressed by the Suebi, learnt from them the following things: that the Suebi, after they had discovered by scouts that the bridge was being made, having held a council according to their manner, had sent off messengers in all directions (bidding the people) that they should depart from the towns and place their children, wives and all their goods in the woods and that all who could bear arms should assemble at one spot: that this levy was in about the middle of those regions which the Suebi possessed: that here they were awaiting the approach of the Romans and had determined to fight it out there. And when Cæsar discovers this, all those objects being accomplished for the sake of which he had determined to lead his army across, (*viz.*) to inspire the Germans with fear, to punish the Sugambri, to free the Ubii from their siege, thinking that since eighteen days altogether had been spent across the Rhine, sufficient had been accomplished² for (increasing) his reputation and for expediency,

1. *lit.* those exhorting.

2. *profectum* from *proficio* not from *proficiscor*.

returned into Gaul and cut down the bridge. 20. A small part of the summer being left, although the winters are early in these places, because all Gaul lies towards the north, nevertheless Cæsar hastens to set out for Britain, because he understood that in almost all the Gallic wars, auxiliaries had been supplied thence to our enemies, and (even) if the (remaining) time of the year should prove insufficient for carrying on war, at any rate he thought it would be of great use to him, if he had only approached the island and inspected the race of men (and) learnt about the places, the harbours, (and) the approaches; which were almost all unknown to the Gauls. For neither indeed does anyone approach thither incautiously¹ besides merchants nor even to those is anything known besides the sea coast and those regions which are opposite the Gauls. And so, although² he summoned merchants to him from all sides, he was able to find out neither how great the size of the island was, nor what or how great nations inhabited it nor what experience³ of war they had or what customs they used, nor what harbours were suitable for a multitude of the larger ships. 21. He sends-on-in-front Gaius Volusenus with a ship of war to find out these things, before he should make the risk, thinking him a suitable man. He enjoins him to return to him as soon as possible, after ascertaining all things. He himself sets out with all the forces to the Morini, because thence was the shortest crossing to Britain. Hither he orders the ships to come together from the neighbouring regions on all sides, and the fleet which he had built the summer before for the war with the Veneti. Meanwhile his plan having become known and carried by merchants to the Britons, envoys come to him from very many states of the island, to⁴ promise to give hostages and to obey the government of the Roman people. And when these had been heard, after making generous promises and exhorting them to remain by that intention, he sends them back home and he sends along with them Commius, whom he himself had appointed king there over the conquered Atrebates, whose valour, too, and wisdom he approved and whom he thought to be faithful to him,

1. *temere*, really=rashly, out of idle curiosity like an adventurer.

2. Concessive use of the abl. abs.

3. *usum belli* may also mean "method of fighting."

4. *qui*, with subj. because final.

and whose influence was highly¹ esteemed in these regions. This man he commands to approach what states he is able and to exhort them to trust (*lit.* to follow) the good faith of the Roman people and to announce that he will come thither quickly. Volusenus after examining all the regions, as² far as opportunity could be given to him seeing he did not dare to disembark and trust himself to the barbarians, returns to Cæsar in five days and brings-back-an-account-of what things he had examined there.

22. While Cæsar was delaying in these parts for the sake of preparing vessels, envoys came to him from a large part of the Morini to excuse themselves about the policy of the former time, because being barbarians and ignorant of our habits they had made war upon the Roman people, and to promise that they would do those things which he commanded. Cæsar thinking that this had happened for him quite advantageously, because he neither wished to leave an enemy behind his back nor had an opportunity of carrying on war on account of the season of the year nor considered that these occupations with such trifling things should be preferred to Britain, commands them (to bring) a large number of hostages. And when these were brought he received those-people into friendship. About eighty ships of burden having been pressed-into-service and gathered together, which he thought sufficient for carrying over two legions, he assigns all³ the ships of war which he had besides to his quæstor, lieutenants and prefects. To these⁴ were added eighteen ships of burden which were detained by the wind eight miles from that place from coming into the same harbour: these he assigns to the cavalry. The rest of the army he gave to Quintus Titurius Sabinus and Lucius Aurunculeius Cotta his lieutenants to be lead into the Menapii and those villages of the Morini, from which ambassadors had not come to him; he ordered Publius Sulpicius Rufus his lieutenant to hold the harbour with that garrison which he thought sufficient. 23. When these matters had been settled, having obtained a suitable time for sailing, about the third watch he set sail and ordered the

1. *magni*, *lit.* at a great price.

2. *lit.* as much of an opportunity as could be given.

3. *quod præterea* &c. *lit.* = what he had besides (consisting of) ships of war.

4. *lit.* 'hither.'

cavalry to proceed to the further harbour and embark and follow him. And though it¹ was managed by these a little more slowly, he himself reached Britain about the fourth hour of the day with the foremost ships and there on all the hills he saw the armed forces of the enemy drawn out. Of which place this was the nature and the sea was so closely edged by steep cliffs that a dart could be hurled on to the shore from the higher parts. Considering this place to be by no means suitable for disembarking, he waited at anchor up to the ninth hour until the remaining ships should come together thither. Meanwhile having summoned the lieutenants and military tribunes, he explained both the things which he had learnt from Volusenus and those which he wished to be done and cautioned them that all things should be done at the slightest hint and at the right moment as the nature of warfare, (and) especially as naval matters required, in-as-much-as² they were subject to (*lit.* had) quick and uncertain change. After dismissing these, having secured both wind and tide favourable at one time, the signal being given and the anchors weighed, he advanced about seven miles from that place and drew up his ships on an open and flat beach.

24. But the barbarians having learnt the intention of the Romans, (and) having sent on the cavalry and the men-who-fought-in-chariots, a mode which they were accustomed to use very much in battles, they followed with the rest of their forces (and) tried-to-prevent our men from disembarking. For these reasons there was the greatest difficulty, because the ships, on account of their size, could not be drawn up except in deep water, while the soldiers, in places unknown to them, their hands encumbered, burdened with a great and heavy weight of armour had both to leap down from the ships and to stand-steady in the waves and to fight with the enemy all at once, while³ they (the enemy) either from the dry land or advancing a little way into the water, with all their limbs free, in places quite familiar to them, boldly threw their darts and urged on their horses well accustomed (to such fighting). And our men being terrified by these things and altogether unskilled in this

1. The embarkation.

2. *ut quæ, lit.* = as (being) things-which.

3. *lit.* when.

mode of fighting, did not display¹ the same activity and keenness, which they had been accustomed to display in battles on land. 25. And when Cæsar noticed this he ordered the ships of war, the appearance of which was more unusual to the barbarians and their movement more effective for use, to be removed a little from the ships of burden and to be rowed by oars and to be drawn up on the open flank of the enemy, and that the enemy should be driven off and dislodged by slings, arrows and catapults from them; a manœuvre which was of great use to our men. For the barbarians being very much frightened by the shape of the ships and the movement of the oars and the unusual kind of catapults, stood still and retreated for a little. And while our men were hesitating, chiefly on account of the depth of the sea, the standard-bearer—who was carrying the eagle of the tenth legion, calling the gods to witness, that that event might turn out prosperously for the legion, said “Jump down, my men, unless you want to betray the eagle to the enemy: I, at any rate, will do my duty to the state and the general.” When he had said this with a loud voice he flung himself from the ship and begins to carry the eagle against the enemy. Then our men encouraging one another not to commit such a disgraceful deed (*lit.* so great a disgrace), jumped down all together out of the ship. When those also in the nearest ships had first seen him, they followed him (and) approached the enemy.

26. Both sides² fought with spirit. Nevertheless our men, because they were able neither to keep their ranks nor to stand steadily nor to follow the standards, and one from one ship another from another, gathered to whatever standards he had met³, they were very much thrown into confusion; but the enemy, since all the shallows were known to them, when from the beach they had seen some men disembarking from a ship by themselves, spurring on their horses, would attack⁴ them while they were encumbered, several would surround a few, others on the exposed flank would throw darts against the whole lot. And when Cæsar had noticed this, he ordered the war ships’ row-boats

1. *lit.* use.

2. *Lit.* it was fought by both sides.

3. Better Eng. “And different men from different ships gathered round whatever standards they met.”

4. The imperf. used here of a *frequent occurrence*.

and also the spy boats to be manned with soldiers, and whomsoever he saw in difficulty, to these he would send help. Our men, as soon as they stood on dry ground, all their-comrades having followed up, made an attack on the enemy and put them to flight nor were they able to pursue them further because the cavalry had not been able to hold on their course and make the island. This one thing was wanting to Cæsar to-come-up-to (*ad*) his old good fortune. 27. The enemy having been conquered in the battle, as soon they returned from flight, immediately sent envoys to Cæsar about peace, (and) they promised that they would give hostages and would do what things he commanded. Together with these envoys came Commius Atrebas, who I had pointed out above had been sent on by Cæsar into Britain. This man on disembarking from his ship, when he was carrying to them the commands of Cæsar, in the character of ambassador, they had made prisoner and thrown into chains; then after the battle was fought, they sent him back. In begging for peace they threw the blame of that thing on the multitude and begged that they might be pardoned¹ for their imprudence. Cæsar, after complaining because they had without cause made war upon him, when, having of their own accord sent envoys to the continent, they had begged for peace from him, said that he pardoned their imprudence and commanded them (to give) hostages; a portion of whom they gave at once, part having been sent for from more distant places they said they would give in a few days. Meanwhile they commanded their men to return to the country and the chiefs began to come together from all sides and to place themselves and their states under Cæsar's protection. 28. Peace having been established by these measures, four days after the arrival in Britain², the eighteen ships about which mention has been made above, which had carried the cavalry, set sail with a light breeze from the upper harbour. And when these were approaching Britain and were sighted from the camp, such a storm suddenly rose, that none of them could keep on their course but some were carried back to the same place from which they had started, others were driven to the lower part of the island, which is towards the west, with great danger to them-

1. *ignoscetur*. impersonal: *lit.* "That it might be pardoned to them.

2. *lit.* "after the fourth day that it was come (that we came) to Britian."

selves; which however, after casting anchor, when they began to fill with the waves, being¹ forced to put out to sea when night was coming on, made for the continent. 29. On the same night it happened that there was a full moon, a time which was accustomed to make the sea tides very high in the Ocean, and that was unknown to our men. So at one (and the same) time the tide had both filled the war-ships, by means of which Cæsar had had the army carried over and which he had drawn up on to the dry land, and the storm knocked about the transports which had been moored at anchor, nor was any opportunity given to our men either of managing them or of bringing help. Very many ships having been wrecked, since the rest were useless for sailing, their ropes, anchors and the rest of their tackling being lost, great consternation, as must of necessity happen, fell² upon the whole army. For indeed there were no other ships in which they could be carried back and all things were wanting which were needed for refitting the ships, and, because it was agreed by all that they ought to winter in Gaul, corn had not been provided for the winter in these places. 30. And when these things became known, the chiefs of Britain, who had come together to Cæsar after the battle, after holding a consultation with each other, when they understood that cavalry and ships and corn were lacking to the Romans, and (when they) learnt the fewness of the soldiers from the small size of our camp,—which was even narrower from this reason that Cæsar had carried across the legions without the baggage—they thought it the best thing to do,³ having made a rebellion, to hinder our men from corn and provisions and to protract the war into the winter, because, if⁴ these were overcome or cut off from return, they trusted that no one afterwards would cross into Britain for the sake of making war against them. And so, a conspiracy having been formed again, they began gradually to depart from the camp and to bring down their men (to the coast) secretly from the country. 31. But Cæsar, although he had not yet

1. *lit.* "necessarily sailing forth into the deep."

2. *lit.* "a great troubling of the whole army was made."

3. *lit.* 'in doing' or 'to be done.' supine in *u*.

4. "hypothetical use" of the abl. abs.: it stands for a clause beginning with "*si*."

learnt their plans, yet, both from the mishaps to his ships and from the fact that they had ceased to give hostages, began-to-suspect that that would happen, which did come to pass. And so he began to prepare help for all events. For he both began to bring together corn from the fields into the camp daily and he began to use the wood and metal of those ships which had been most severely shattered, for refitting the rest and he ordered the things which were necessary for these purposes to be brought together from the continent. Therefore, since the-work-was-done with very great zeal by the soldiers, although twelve ships had been lost, he made it possible to sail with the rest easily.¹

32. While these things were being done, one legion, which was called the Seventh, having been sent, according to custom, to forage for corn, and no suspicion of war at that time being entertained, when part of the natives were staying in the fields, part even came-frequently into the camp, those who were on guard before the gates of the camp reported to Cæsar that a larger cloud of dust, than was usual,² was visible in that direction in which the legion had marched. Cæsar, suspecting it to be, as was the case, some fresh design attempted by the barbarians, ordered the cohorts which were on guard to set out with him in that direction, two cohorts of the rest to take their place on guard, the remainder to arm themselves and follow him quickly. When he had advanced a little further from the camp, he perceived that his men were being pressed by the enemy, and were holding their ground with difficulty and the legion being hemmed in on all sides, darts were being hurled (at them). For since, all the corn having been cut down from the other parts, only one part was left, the enemy suspecting that our men would come hither, had hidden by night in the woods; then suddenly attacking them while dispersed (and) their arms having been laid down, busied in reaping, after slaying a few, they threw the rest into confusion with disordered ranks, as soon as they had surrounded them with the cavalry and chariots. 33. This is the method of fighting from the

1. *lit.* "He brought it to pass (*effecit*) that it was possible to be sailed with the rest easily" *navigari* is impersonal.

2. *lit.* "Than custom brought."

chariots. First they ride through all parts and fling their weapons and they generally break the ranks by the very terror inspired by the horses and by the noise of the wheels, and when they have worked themselves in among the troops of cavalry, they leap down from their chariots and fight on foot. Meanwhile the charioteers gradually retire from the battle and so place the chariots that if the¹ others are being pressed by the numbers of the enemy, they may have a ready retreat to their friends. So they afford in battles the rapid movement of cavalry (and) the steadfastness of infantry and they acquire such skill² by daily practice and exercise, that they are accustomed to pull up their horses when at full speed, on a slope and even on (the edge of) a precipice and to check and turn them in a short space and to run along the pole and to stand on the yoke and to run back (*lit.* take take themselves back) from there with great speed into the chariot.

34. Cæsar brought help at a most opportune moment to our men, (when they were) terrified by these things at the new-kind of fighting: for at his arrival the enemy stood still (and) our men recovered from their fear. And when this was done, thinking that the time was unsuitable for provoking (them) and for engaging in a battle, he remained where he was and after a short interval led back the legions into camp. While these things were happening, all our men having been surprised, the rest (of the Britons) who were in the fields departed. Storms followed for several days continuously, sufficient³ both to keep our men in camp and prevent the enemy from fighting. Meanwhile the barbarians sent off messengers in all directions and announced to their-friends the fewness of our soldiers and they pointed out how great an opportunity was given them of getting booty and freeing themselves for ever, if they drove out the Romans from their camp. A great multitude of infantry and cavalry having been quickly collected by these means they came to the camp.

35. Cæsar, although he saw that the same thing would happen, which happened on former days, that⁴ if the enemy were defeated

1. *illi*, *lit.* "those," *i.e.* the fighters who have jumped off the chariots.

2. *Lit.* "They accomplish so much."

3. *quæ*, consecutive use of relative—"tantæ ut."

4. *ut*, depends on *fore*, not on *videbat*.

they would escape danger by their speed, yet, having obtained about thirty horsemen, whom Commius Atrebas,—about whom mention has been made before—had brought across with him, drew up his legions in line before the camp. When battle was joined, the enemy could not withstand the attack of our soldiers any longer and turned their backs. And after following them as far as they were able to manage by speed and strength, they killed several of them, then after setting fire to all their buildings far and wide, they returned to camp. 36. On the same day envoys' sent by the enemy, came to Cæsar about peace. For these (men) Cæsar doubled the number of the hostages which he had commanded before and ordered them to be taken over to the continent, because the season of the equinox being near he did not think that, his ships being unseaworthy, sailing should be exposed to (the chances of) winter. He himself having obtained suitable weather, unmoored the ships a little after midnight; which all reached the continent safely; but of these, two transports were unable to make the same harbours which the rest did, and put in¹ a little below.

37. And when about 300 soldiers had been landed from these ships and were marching to the camp, the Morini, whom Cæsar, when setting out for Britain, had left behind as at peace, attracted by the hope of booty, surrounded them, at first with not so large a number of their men and ordered them to lay down their arms, if they did not wish themselves to be killed. When they, having formed a circle, began to defend themselves, about 6000 men quickly came up at the shouting. And, this thing being announced, Cæsar sent all the cavalry out of the camp to help his men. Meanwhile our soldiers sustained the attack of the enemy and for more than four hours fought most bravely, and, though a few wounds were received, killed several of them. But after our cavalry came into sight, the enemy, casting away their arms, turned their backs and a great number of them was killed. 38. Cæsar on the next day sent Titus Labienus, his lieutenant with those legions which he had led back from Britain, against the Morini who had made the rebellion. And since they, on account of the dryness of the marshes had not (a place) whither they might retreat, a refuge

1. *defero*, a nautical term—to bring down from the high sea to the land.

which they had used the year before, almost all came into the power of Labienus. But Q. Titurius and L. Cotta the lieutenants, who had led the legions into the territory of the Menapii, after ravaging all their fields, cutting their corn and setting fire to their buildings, because the Menapii had all hidden themselves in very thick woods, returned to Cæsar. Cæsar established the winter quarters of all the legions among the Belgæ. Thither, two states in all sent hostages from Britain, the rest neglected (to do so). These things having been done, a thanksgiving of twenty days was decreed by the senate in accordance with Cæsar's letter.

THE GALLIC WAR.

BOOK V.

1. WHEN Lucius Domitius (and) Appius Claudius were consuls, Cæsar, in departing from winter-quarters for Italy, as he had been accustomed to do every year, commands the lieutenants, whom he had appointed over the legions, to take care that as many ships as they could should be built in the winter and that the old ones should be repaired. He explains (to them) the style and shape of these (ships). For speed in lading and for beaching, he makes them a little lower than those¹ which we have been accustomed to use in our sea, and that all the more because he had learnt that the waves there (*i. e.* in the English Channel) are² less large on account of the constant changes of the tides : for (carrying) cargo and for carrying over a multitude of animals, (he makes them) a little wider than those which we use in the other seas. He commands all these to be built as rowing-galleys, for which purpose their low-build is of much assistance. He orders those things which are useful for fitting up ships to be brought from Spain. He himself, when the assemblies of Hither Gaul had been finished off, sets out for Illyricum, because he heard that a neighbouring part of the province was being ravaged by the Pirustæ in raids. When he had come thither he commands the states (to supply) soldiers and he orders them to come together into a certain spot. And when this thing was announced, the Pirustæ send envoys to him, to inform him that none of those things had been done by public design, and they declare that they are ready to satisfy him

1. for "*quam eas quibus*" : the antecedent is omitted.

2. *feri. lit.* are made.

concerning the injuries by every means. Cæsar, having received their harangue, commands (them to give) hostages and orders them to be brought by a certain day: he makes it clear that unless they do so¹, he will visit their state with war. These having been brought by the (appointed) day, as he had commanded, he appoints umpires between the states, to reckon the costs and affix the damages.² 2. When these things had been accomplished and the assemblies finished off, he returns to Hither Gaul and thence sets out for the army. When he had come thither, after going round all the winter quarters, he finds that by the extraordinary industry of the soldiers (though) in the greatest want of all materials, about 600 ships of that kind, which we have explained above, and twenty eight war-ships had been built and were not far off being able to be launched in a few days. After highly praising the soldiers and those who had superintended the business, he shews what he wishes to be done and he commands them all to come together to port Itius, from which harbour he had learnt that the passage to Britian was most convenient, (being) a crossing of about thirty miles from the continent: he left what seemed sufficient soldiers for this purpose. He himself with four light-armed legions and eight hundred cavalry sets out for the territory of the Treveri, because these neither used to come to the councils nor obeyed the government and were said to-be-tampering-with the Germans across the Rhine.

3. This state is by far the most powerful of all Gaul in cavalry and it has large forces of infantry and borders on the Rhine as we have shewn above. In this state two men were quarrelling with one another about the leadership, Indutiomarus and Cingetorix; one of whom, as³ soon as it was known about the approach of Cæsar and the legions, came to him, and protested that he and his (followers) would all do their duty⁴ and would not revolt from the friendship of the Roman people

1. *fecerint*, subj: because in Or. Obl. after *demonstrat*. The perf. is used (instead of the pres.) because it is an action that is required to be accomplished and done with immediately: it is really a sort of aorist here.

2. This is the primary meaning of *pœna*, viz. "price paid;" hence—"redress for injury," "penalty," "damages," and from this comes the later meaning of "punishment."

3. *simulatque*, a longer form for *simul ac*.

4. *Lit.* would all be in their duty.

and he shewed what things were being done among the Treveri. But Indutiomarus began to collect cavalry and infantry, and, after hiding away those who were not able to be in arms on account of their age, in the forest of Arduenna, which (is) of enormous extent (and) stretches through the middle of the territory of the Treveri from the river Rhine to the beginning of the Remi, (he began) to prepare for war. But after that some chiefs of that state, both attracted by the friendship of Cingetorix and terrified by the approach of our army, came to Cæsar and began to petition him (*lit.* beg from him) about their own affairs privately, since they could not consult-for-the-good-of the state (as a whole), Indutiomarus, fearing lest he should be deserted by all, sends ambassadors to Cæsar: (he said) that he was for this reason holding aloof from his own-country-men and had been unwilling to come to him, in order that he might keep the state in allegiance more easily, lest by the departure of all the nobility the common people might fall away through imprudence; and so, that the state was in his power and that, if Cæsar would allow, he would come to him into the camp and would entrust to his protection (*lit.* good faith) his own and the state's fortunes. Cæsar, although he understood from what reason those things were said and what thing deterred him from the plan he had begun, nevertheless, that he might not be compelled to waste the summer among the Treveri, when all things had been prepared for the British war, ordered Indutiomarus to come to him with two hundred hostages. These having been brought, among them his son and all his relations whom he (Cæsar) had demanded (*lit.* called out) by name, he cheered up Indutiomarus and exhorted him to remain in allegiance; none the less, however, having summoned to him the chiefs of the Treveri, he brought these over, one by one, to Cingetorix, because he both understood that he was acting according to the deserts of Cingetorix¹ and he thought that it was of great importance that his influence should be as strong as possible among his-own-country-men, whose good-will towards himself he had perceived to be so remarkable. Indutiomarus was indignant at this

1. *Lit.* "That it was being done by him (in accordance) with the desert of that man."

proceeding, that his own popularity among his country-men was being diminished, and, seeing he had been¹ already before of a hostile disposition to us, he became much more embittered by this source of annoyance.²

5. These matters having been settled Cæsar reached port Itius with the legions. There he learns that sixty ships, which had been built among the Meldi, having been beaten back by a storm had not been able to keep on their course and had returned to the same place whence they had started; he found the rest prepared for sailing and equipped with everything, To the same place the cavalry of all Gaul comes together, in number 4000, and the chiefs from all the states; a very few of whom, whose faithfulness to him he had perceived, he had determined to leave in Gaul, (and) to take the rest along with him in stead of hostages, because he feared a rising of Gaul, when he himself was absent. 6. There was with the rest Dumnorix, an Aeduan, about whom we have spoken before³. This man he had determined to have with him among the first, because he had learnt him (to be) ambitious of change, ambitious of rule, of high spirit (and) of great influence among the Gauls. There was added to this⁴ the fact that in the council of the Aedui, Dumnorix had said that the government of the state was being put into his hands by Cæsar; a saying at which the Aedui were indignant, and (yet) they did not dare to send envoys to Cæsar for the sake of refusing (him) or of petitioning-against-him. Cæsar learnt that this⁵ had been done from his guests. He (Dumnorix) at first tried by every kind of entreaty to beg that he might be left in Gaul, partly because (so he said)⁶ he was afraid of the sea, being unused to sailing, partly because he said he was hindered by religious scruples. After that he saw that that was resolutely refused him, all hope of gaining-his-request having been taken away, he begins

1. This *qui* either is causal (as translated here) or concessive, = "although he had been." *Lit.* it = "he who."

2. *Lit.* "He blazed up much more seriously with this (source of) annoyance."

3. *Lit.* "it has been spoken by us."

4. *Lit.* "hither."

5. *viz.* that this speech had been made by Dumnorix.

6. *timeret* is subj. as giving, not the true reason, but the excuse which Dumnorix alleged. This is expressed in Eng. by the parenthetical clause, "So he said," *cf.* the instance in the Lat. Gram. "*Socrates accusatus est quod corrumpere juvenutem.*"

to tamper-with the chiefs of Gaul, to call them aside one-by-one and to exhort them, that they should remain on the continent; (he begins) to terrify them by (raising their) alarm : (saying) that it was not done without a reason that Gaul was being stripped of all her nobility; that this was the design of Cæsar, that, he might butcher all these, whom he feared to kill in the sight of Gaul, after leading them over into Britain; (he begins)¹ to give the rest a solemn assurance (and) to demand an oath (from them,) that they would with one-common plan, do what they understood to be in-accordance-with² the advantage of Gaul. These things were reported by several people to Cæsar. 7. Which thing being known, Cæsar determined that since he conferred so much honour on the Aeduan state Dumnorix should be checked and deterred by whatever means he could; because he saw that his folly was proceeding further-and-further, (he determined) that he ought to take-precautions lest he (Dumnorix) should be able to do some harm, either to himself or the state (of Rome). And so while delaying in that place about twenty-five days, because the wind Corus hindered the sailing, which was accustomed to blow for a great part of the whole season in these places, he gave his attention to keeping Dumnorix in his allegiance-and-yet, none the less, to learning all his plans; at length, having obtained suitable weather he orders the soldiers and cavalry to embark on board the ships. But when the minds of all were occupied, Dumnorix begins to depart from the camp homeward with the cavalry of the Aedui, without the knowledge³ of Cæsar. And when this thing was announced, Cæsar, having stopped the start and postponed everything (else), sends a large portion of the cavalry to pursue him and orders him to be brought back; if he uses force and does not obey, he orders him to be killed, thinking that he who had neglected the command of him (Cæsar) when present, would do nothing like a sane man, when he (Cæsar) was absent. For-indeed he, when summoned-back, begins to resist and defend himself by force and to call upon the faithfulness of his-followers,

1. *interponere* and *poscere* are Historic inf.s. depending on some word like *cœpit*, understood (as in the trans.) they are best translated in Eng. by simply taking them as if they were finite verbs in the indicative; thus "He gave the rest" ... "he demanded."

2. *ex usu*: a special phrase cf. *e republica*=for good of the state.

3. *Lit.* "Cæsar not knowing."

constantly shouting that he was a free man and belonged to a free state. They (the cavalry), as had been commanded, surround the man and kill him; but the Aeduan cavalry all return to Cæsar. 8. These things having been done (and) Labienus being left on the continent with three legions and 2000 cavalry, to protect the harbours and provide corn and learn what things were being done in Gaul, and take counsel according as occasion and circumstance might need,¹ he himself with five legions and an equal number of cavalry (to that) which he had left on the continent, weighed anchor at sunset and, after sailing forward with a gentle South West breeze, the wind having dropped about midnight, he did not hold on his course and after being carried-out-of-his-course too far² by the tide, sighted Britain at sunrise, having passed³ it on the left. Then having followed back again the change of the tide, he rowed hard with oars, to make that part of the island, where he had learnt, the summer before, was the best landing. In which matter the courage of the soldiers was very much to be praised, who in the ships built for transport and heavy, by not giving up the hard-work of rowing, equalled the speed of the ships of war. Britain was reached⁴ by all the ships about the time of mid-day, nor was the enemy seen in that place; but as Cæsar learnt afterwards from prisoners, when great bands had come together thither, being terrified by the multitude of ships, which, with last year's-vessels and the private ones, which each had made for his own use, had seemed at one time to be more than eight hundred, they had departed from the shore and hidden themselves in the higher places.⁵ 9. Cæsar, having landed the army and chosen a spot suitable for a camp, when he learnt from prisoners, in what place the troops of the enemy had settled, ten cohorts and three hundred cavalry being left by the sea, to be a guard for the ships, set out, about the third watch, for the enemy, fearing all the less for the ships, because he was leaving them on a soft and open beach, fastened at anchor, and he appointed Quintus Atrius over the guard for the ships. He himself, after

1. *Pro*, lit. = in proportion to, in accordance with.

2. *longius*. lit. "further (than he wished)": a frequent use of the comparative.

3. *Lit.* "saw Britain having been left behind on his left hand."

4. *Lit.* "It was arrived at Britain."

5. *i. e.* inland.

advancing by night about twelve miles, caught-sight-of the enemy's forces. They, advancing from the higher ground to the river with the cavalry and chariots, begin to prevent our men and to engage in battle. Driven back by the cavalry they hid themselves in the woods, having obtained a spot admirably fortified, both by nature and by (artificial) work, which they had already prepared beforehand, as it seemed,¹ for the sake of a private war: for very many trees having been cut down all the entrances had been blocked up. They themselves skirmished from the woods in small bodies, and tried to prevent our men from entering the defences. But the soldiers of the seventh legion, having made a tortoise and brought an earth work up to the defences, took the place, and drove them out of the woods, after receiving a few wounds. But Cæsar forbade (his men) to follow them while flying any-further, both because he did not know the nature of the place, and because, a great part of the day having been (already) spent, he wished some time to be left for the making of a camp. 10. On the next day after that day, in the morning, Cæsar sent the soldiers and cavalry in three divisions on an expedition, to follow-up those who had fled. When these had advanced some distance on the road², when the hindmost (soldiers) were just³ in sight, some horsemen from Quintus Atrius came to Cæsar, to announce that in the preceding night, a very great storm having arisen, almost all the ships had been shattered and were high and dry⁴ on the shore because neither did the anchors and cables hold firm, nor could the sailors and pilots stand the violence of the storm: and so, that great injury had been received from that collision of the ships.

11. These things having been learnt, Cæsar orders the legions and cavalry to be recalled and to halt in their march, (while) he himself returns to the ships; he perceives with his own eyes⁵ almost the same things which he had learnt from the messengers and the letter, so that, although about forty ships had been lost, the rest seemed able to be repaired with a good deal of

1. *ut videbantur*. lit. "as they seemed (to have done)."

2. *Lit.* "some part of the road." *itineris* Partitive gen.

3. *cum jam* &c. = "just when they were in sight (and no more)."

4. *Lit.* "thrown out" sc. by the waves.

5. *Lit.* "in his own presence."

labour. Wherefore he chooses workmen from the legions and orders others to be sent for from the continent; he writes to Labienus to get ready as many ships as possible,¹ for those legions which are with him.

He himself, although it was a matter of much labour and difficulty, yet determined that it was most convenient that all the ships should be drawn-up-on-the-beach and be connected with the camp by one-common rampart. In these works he spends about ten days, not even the hours of night being given up in² the labour of the soldiers. The ships having been drawn up and the camp particularly well fortified, he left the same forces, as before, as a guard for the ships (and) himself sets out for the same place whence he had returned. When he had come thither, already larger forces of the Britons had come together from all sides into that place, the chief command³ and the general plan of conducting the war having been entrusted to Cassivellaunus; whose territory a river, which is called the Thames, divides from the maritime states, about eighty miles from the sea. Formerly⁴ there had been continuous wars between this man and the other states; but the Britons being much alarmed by our approach had appointed this man over the whole war and the command (of it). 12. The inland part of Britain is inhabited by those whom they themselves hold⁵ by tradition (*memoriâ proditum dicunt*) to have been born in the island, the maritime part by those, who had crossed over from Belgium for the sake of booty and of making war upon them, (who, almost all, are called by the names of those states, from⁶ which they had sprung when they came thither), and, having made war upon them, they remained there and began to cultivate the fields. There is an endless multitude of men

1. *posset*. A wrong consecution of tenses, as is frequent in Cæsar. The imperf. subj. is here used, (instead of the present) because *scribit*, though strictly a primary tense, is used as a "historic present" i. e. it is used graphically in the present to describe an action of the past. Hence the confusion of tenses.

2. *Lit.* "for."

3. *Lit.* "The chief part of the command."

4. Perfectly literally, this sentence, would run "In former time continuous wars had intervened for this man with the other states."

5. In this sentence "*quos natos (esse)*" is an acc. and inf. clause depending on "*memoriâ proditum (esse)*" which again is an acc. and inf. clause depending on "*dicunt.*"

6. *Lit.* "From which states having sprung they came thither."

and very many buildings, almost exactly like the Gaulish ones, (and) a large number of cattle. They use either copper or a copper coin or iron bars fixed at a certain weight, in stead of a coin. White¹ lead is found there in the inland districts, iron in the coast-districts, but of this the supply is small; they use copper that has been imported. There is timber of every kind, as in Gaul, except beech and pine. They do not think it right to eat hare and fowl and goose; yet they keep these animals for the sake of amusement and pleasure. The climate is more moderate than in Gaul, the cold season being less severe. 13. The island is by nature triangular, of which one side is opposite Gaul. One corner of this side, which is towards Cantium, whither almost all the ships from Gaul put in, looks towards the East, (and), on-the-lower-side-of-it, towards the south. This-side reaches about five hundred miles. The-other-side points towards Spain and the west; on which side is Ireland, half as small again as Britain, as it is thought, but with an equal distance of crossing as from Gaul into Britain. In the middle of this passage is an island, which is called Mona: very many smaller islands besides are thought to be close by; about which islands some have written that in the winter the night lasts² for thirty continuous days. We could find out nothing about that from careful inquiries, only we observed by exact measurements made with the water-clock, that the nights were shorter than on the continent. The length of this side is, as their estimate gives it, seven hundred miles. The third-side lies opposite the north; to which part there is no land opposite, but a corner of this side looks pretty-much towards Germany. This is thought to be eight hundred miles in length. So the whole island is two thousand miles in circumference.

14. Out of all these, by far the most civilized are those who inhabit Cantium, which is all a maritime district, and they do not differ much from the Gaulish mode-of-life. Those inland mostly do not sow corn, but live on milk and flesh and are clothed with skins, but all the Britons stain themselves with woad, which makes a blue colour, and by this, they are of a

1. Sc. Tin.
2. *Lit.* "is."

more terrible appearance in battle; and they wear¹ long hair and every part of the body shaved except the head and the upper lip. Ten or twelve have wives in common and generally brothers (have them) with brothers and parents with children; but those who are born of these are considered the children of those by² whom each woman was first married as a virgin. 15. The cavalry of the enemy and the charioteers fought bravely in a battle with our cavalry on the march, yet (with the result) that our men were victorious in all points and drove them into the woods and hills; but, several (of the enemy) having been killed, (our men) following up too eagerly lost some of their number. But they (the Britons) after an interval, our men not expecting (them) and being occupied in the fortifications of the camp suddenly burst from the woods and having made an attack on those who had been stationed on guard before the camp, fought bravely, and two cohorts having been sent to their assistance by Cæsar, and they the first cohorts of the two legions, when these had drawn up with a very small space of ground left between them, our men being terrified by the new kind of fighting, (the Britons) with the utmost valour burst through and returned thence safely. On that day Quintus Laberius Durus, a tribune of the soldiers, is killed. They (the Britons) after several cohorts have been sent up, are beaten back.

16. In all this kind of battle, since it³ was fought under the eyes of all and before the camp, it was understood that our men, on account of the weight of their arms, because they were neither able to follow them (the foe) up when retreating, nor dared to depart from the standards, were not fit to cope with a foe of this kind, and that the cavalry fought in battle with great danger, because they (the enemy) usually retreated even on purpose and when they had separated our men a little from the legions, they leaped from the chariots and fought on foot in an uneven contest. But the method of a cavalry⁴ engagement brought an equal and the same danger both to those retreating

1. *Lit.* "They are (men) of long hair" &c. *abl.* of description or quality with epithet.

2. *Quo primum* &c. *Lit.* "To-whose-house each-woman was first led home (for marriage) as a virgin."

3. *dimicaretur* impersonal use.

4. Cæsar seems to be contrasting a genuine cavalry engagement with the Britons' barbarous mode of skirmishing, which did not give horses fair play.

and those pursuing. There was added to this, that they never fought all together but scattered and at large distances and they had outposts placed here and there and one-party (*alii*) relieved another, and the unwounded and fresh took the place of the tired. 17. On the next day the enemy took up their position on the hills far from the camp, and began to show themselves at intervals and to provoke our cavalry to battle more gently than the day before. But at midday, when Cæsar had sent three legions and all the cavalry with Gaius Trebonius the lieutenant for the sake of foraging, suddenly they hastened from all parts to the foragers, so¹ that they did not desist from the standards and the legions. Our men having boldly charged them drove them back and did not make an end of pursuing them, until that the cavalry, relying on their aid, when they saw the legions behind them, drove the enemy headlong and, having killed a great number of them gave them an opportunity neither of rallying themselves nor of making a stand or of leaping from the chariots. Immediately after this rout, the auxiliaries, which had assembled from every-side, departed, nor, after that time, did the enemy ever engage with us in full force. 18. Cæsar, having learnt their plan, led his army to the river Thames, into the territory of Cassivellaunus; because the river can be crossed on foot in one place alone,² and that with difficulty. When he had come thither he noticed that large forces of the enemy were drawn up on the other bank. But the bank was protected by sharp stakes stuck in front, and stakes of the same kind driven down under water were hidden by the river. These things being learnt from prisoners and deserters, Cæsar, having sent forward the cavalry, ordered the legions to follow quickly. But the soldiers went with such speed and such force that, though they had only their heads out of water, the enemy could not withstand the attack of the legions and the cavalry, and abandoned the banks and betook themselves to flight. 19. Cassivellaunus, as we have shewn above, all hope of continuing the struggle having been given up, after dismissing the larger forces, about four thousand of the charioteers being left, used to watch

1. This is the trans. of the reading as it stands: for a better reading see Peskett's note.

2. *omnino* : *lit.* altogether.

our marches and kept a little out of the road and used to hide in impassable and woody places and in those districts in which he had learnt we should march, he used to drive off the cattle and inhabitants from the fields into the woods and as soon as our cavalry had thrown themselves on to the fields a-little-incautiously for the sake of plundering and laying them waste, he used to send out by all the roads and paths, charioteers from the woods and, with great danger to our cavalry, he used to engage with them, and, by the terror which this inspired,¹ he prevented them from wandering further. The-only-course-left was that Cæsar should not allow them to wander² too far from the column of the legions, and that so much injury should be done to the enemy³ in laying waste the fields and burning as the soldiers of the legions were able to cause by labour and marching.⁴

20. Meanwhile the Trinobantes, almost the strongest state of those districts, (from which Mandubracius, a young man, having embraced the allegiance of Cæsar, had come to the continent to him, into Gaul, whose father had held the sovereignty in that state and had been killed by Cassivellaunus, though he himself had escaped death by flight) send envoys to Cæsar and promise that they will surrender themselves to him and will do his commands; they ask, that he will defend Mandubracius from the violence of Cassivellaunus and send him to his state, to⁵ rule it and keep the power. Cæsar commands these people (to give) forty hostages and corn for the army and he sends Mandubracius to them. They quickly performed his commands, (and) sent the hostages up to the number-required and corn. 21. The Trinobantes being defended and kept from all injury of the soldiers, the Cenimagni, Segontiaci, Ancalites, Bibroci (and) Cassi, having sent embassies, give themselves up to Cæsar. From these he learns that the town of Cassivellaunus is not far distant from that place, defended by woods and marshes, whither a very large number⁶ of men and

1. *Lit.* "By this terror."

2. *discedi* is impersonal: *lit.* "allow it to be wandered."

3. *tantum noceretur*: impersonal; *lit.* "so much should be injured to the enemy."

4. *labore atque itinere*, a hendiadys,—"by laborious marching."

5. *qui.* final use=*ut is*—"in order that he."

6. *Lit.* "a sufficiently large number."

cattle have been-brought-together.¹ Now the Britons call it a town, whenever they have fortified woods (so as to be) impassable with a stockade and trench, whither they were accustomed to assemble for the sake of escaping an inroad of the enemy. Thither he sets out with the legions: he finds the place wonderfully fortified by nature and labour; nevertheless he attempted to attack this on two sides. The enemy after-waiting for a little, did notwithstanding the attack of our soldiers and rushed² out from another part of the town. A great number of cattle was found there and many were captured and killed in fight. 22. While these things are happening in these places, Cassivellaunus sends messengers to Cantium (which we have shewn above, was close to the sea, over which districts four kings ruled, Cingetorix, Carvilius, Taximagulus and Segovax) and commands these to collect all their forces and to suddenly set upon and attack the naval camp. When they had come to the camp, a sortie being made, many of them killed, (and) even Lugotorix, a leader of good birth being made prisoner, our men led back their soldiers safe. Cassivellaunus, this battle being announced, so many losses having been suffered, his territory having been laid waste, being also very much troubled by the falling-away of the states, sends envoys through Atrebas Commius to Cæsar, about surrender. Cæsar, since he had determined to winter on the continent on account of some sudden disturbances of the Gauls, and (since) there was not much of the summer left and he understood that that (which remained) could be easily spun out, commands (him to give) hostages and determines what tribute,³ year by year, Britain should pay the Roman people; he forbids and commands Cassivellaunus not to hurt Mandubracius or the Trinobantes. 23. The hostages having been received he leads back the army to the sea, (and) finds the ships repaired. These having been launched, he determined to convey the army back in two trips both because he had a large number of prisoners and some ships had perished by the storm. And it so happened that out of so large a number of

1. *Lit.* "have come together."

2. *Lit.* "Flung themselves out."

3. *vectigalis* is partitive genit: *lit*—"what of tribute."

ships, in so many voyages, neither in this year nor in the former, any ship at all, (at least any ship) which carried soldiers, was missed; but of those which were sent empty to him from the continent both (those) of the former trip, after disembarking the soldiers, and (those) which Labienus had afterwards had made, sixty in number, very few reached their destination, (and) almost all the rest were driven back. And when Cæsar had waited for these in vain for some considerable time, (fearing) lest he might be prevented from sailing by the season of the year, because the equinox was at hand, he of necessity packed the soldiers more-closely-than-usual, and, having obtained a very great calm, the second watch having begun when he weighed anchor, he reached land at dawn and brought over all the ships safe. 24. The ships having been drawn up and a council of the Gauls held at Samarobriua, because in that year corn had been more scarcely supplied¹ in Gaul on account of the droughts, he was compelled to place his army in winter-quarters differently to former years, and to distribute the legions among several states. One of which (legions) he gave to Gaius Fabius, the lieutenant, to be led into the Morini, another to Quintus Cicero (to be led) into the Nervii, a third to Lucius Roscius (to be led) into the Esumii; a fourth he ordered to winter with Titus Labienus among the Remi on the confines of the Treveri; three he placed among the Belgæ: to these he appointed Marcus Crassus the quæstor and Lucius Munatius Plancus and Gaius Trebonius, the lieutenants. He sent one legion, which he had lately enrolled across the Po, and five cohorts to the Eburones, the greatest portion of whom is between the Mosa and the Rhine, who were under the rule of Ambiorix and Catuvoleus. He ordered Quintus Titurius Sabinus and Lucius Aurunculeius Cotta, to command these soldiers as lieutenants. By the legions having been distributed in this manner, he thought that he could most easily remedy the want of corn. And yet the winter-quarters of all these legions, except that which he had given to Lucius Roscius, to be led into the most peaceful and quiet part, were contained within one hundred miles. Meanwhile he himself determined to delay in Gaul until he had learnt that the legions had been settled and the winter-quarters fortified.

1. *Lit.* "Had come forward more scarcely."

25. There was among the Carnutes, Tasgetius, born of the highest rank, whose ancestors had held the sovereignty in their state. To this man Cæsar had restored the rank of his ancestors, in-consideration-of (*pro*) his courage and his good will towards him, because in all the wars he (Cæsar) had enjoyed his particular assistance. When he was now in this the third year of his reign,¹ his enemies killed him, there² being many aggressors (to the crime) openly from the state. This matter is reported to Cæsar. He fearing, in as much it concerned several people, lest, the state might revolt at their instigation, orders Lucius Plancus to set out with a legion from Belgium quickly for the Carnutes and to winter there, and to seize and send to him those by whose agency he had learnt Tasgetius had been killed.³ Meanwhile he was informed by all the lieutenants and the quæstor, to whom he had entrusted the legions, that they⁴ had arrived at the winter-quarters and the place had been fortified for winter-quarters. 26. In about fifteen days, in-the-course-of-which winter-quarters were reached⁵ the commencement of a sudden disturbance and revolt was made⁶ by Ambiorix and Catuvolcus; who, when they had met Sabinus and Cotta at the borders of their kingdom and had brought corn into the winter-quarters, being incited by the messengers of Indutiomarus the Treveran, roused their country-men and having suddenly surprised-and-crushed the foragers-for-wood, they came with a large force to the camp to attack it. When our men had hastily seized their arms and had mounted the stockade, and the Spanish horsemen having been sent out from one part, had gained the advantage in a cavalry engagement, the enemy, despairing of success withdrew their men from the attack. Then they shouted out, after their fashion, that someone

1. *Lit.* "Him reigning during this, already the third year." Peskett, however, takes *hunc* not with *annum* but as referring to Tasgetius, in which case the *eum* is redundant afterwards.

2. *Multis auctoribus* is an abl. abs. with some participle understood, e. g. *adjuvantibus* (= "helping.")

3. *quorumque* &c. The antecedent to *quorum* is *hos*: *Lit.* "And (the men by whose agency he had learnt that Tasgetius had been killed, to send to him these men having been seized.)"

4. *Perventum*, impersonal use; *lit.* "That it had been arrived by them."

5. *ventum est*: *lit.* "it was come into winter quarters."

6. *Lit.* "arose."

from our men should go forth for a parley: (they said) that they had things which they wished to say about the common interest, by which things they hoped that the quarrels could be lessened. 27. There is sent to them for the sake of holding a parley, Gaius Arpineius, a Roman knight, a relation of Quintus Titurius, and a certain Quintus Junius from Spain, who already before had been accustomed to go-frequently to Ambiorix, through Cæsar sending him¹; with whom Ambiorix spoke in the following manner: That² he confessed that, in-return-for Cæsar's benefits to him, he owed him very much, because by his (Cæsar's) aid he had been freed from the tribute which he had been accustomed to pay to the Aduatuci, his neighbours, and because both his son and his brother's son had been restored to him by Cæsar, whom, sent as hostages,³ the Aduatuci had kept with them in slavery and chains: nor did he do that which he has done about the attacking of the camp, by either his own judgment or will, but by the compulsion of the state, and that his own commands were of such a kind that the multitude had not less rule over him than he over the multitude. That, furthermore, for the state, this has been the cause of the war, that it has not been able to withstand the sudden conspiracy of the Gauls. That he can easily prove this from his own insignificance, because he is not so inexperienced in matters as to trust that the Roman people can be overcome by his forces. But that the plan was common to (all) Gaul: that this day was appointed for attacking all the winter-quarters of Cæsar, in⁴ order that no legion might go to the help of another legion. That Gauls had not been able easily to refuse Gauls, especially when a plan seemed begun for recovering their common liberty. And since he has satisfied these people on the score of duty, that he now took account of his obligation in return for Cæsar's benefits: that⁵ he advised, that he prayed Titurius in friendship to consult for his own and the soldiers' safety. That a great

1. *Lit.* "By the sending of Cæsar."

2. Throughout this speech the tenses are confused, sometimes primary, sometimes historic being used. The translation has followed them literally, although the English grammar suffers thereby.

3. *Lit.* "sent in the number of hostages."

4. *ne qua*: *ne quis* is used for *ut nullus*.

5. Understand *se* before *monere* and *orare*.

band of Germans having been gathered had crossed the Rhine; that this would be present in two days. It is for themselves (*sc.* Titurius and his men) to consider whether they wish, before the neighbouring people perceive, to lead their soldiers, having been brought out of winter-quarters, either to Cicero or to Labienus, one of whom is absent from them about fifty miles, the other a little more. That he promises this and confirms it with an oath, that¹ he will give them a safe journey through his territory. That, since he does this, he both consults the good of his state, because it is relieved from (a garrison in) winter-quarters and is returning thanks to Cæsar for his kindnesses. This speech having been made Ambiorix departs.

28. Arpineius and Junius bring back to the lieutenants the things which they heard. They, being troubled by the sudden event, although those things were said by an enemy, nevertheless thought that they ought not to be neglected and they were especially disturbed by this fact that it was scarcely to be believed that the paltry and insignificant state of the Eburones had of its own accord dared to make war upon the Roman people. And so they bring the matter before a council and a great difference-of-opinion arises among them. Lucius Aurunculeius and several tribunes of the soldiers and centurions of the front ranks thought that nothing ought to be done in a hurry, and that they ought not to depart from winter-quarters, without the command of Cæsar: they explained that any quantity of German forces,² could be kept in check with fortified winter-quarters; that this fact is a proof, that they have sustained gallantly the first attack of the Germans, having inflicted many wounds as well: that they³ are not distressed in respect of provisions; that meanwhile reinforcements will come both from the nearest winter-quarters and from Cæsar; lastly what was more inconstant, or more disgraceful, than, on the instigation of an enemy, to take counsel about the most important matters? 29. On the other hand Titurius insisted that they would do these things too late, when larger bands of the enemy, the Germans having joined them, had assembled, or when some disaster had been received in the nearest

1. *daturum* more fully should be *se daturum esse*.

2. *Lit.* "that however large forces you please, of Germans."

3. understand *se* before *premi*.

winter-quarters. That the opportunity for consultation was short. That he thought Cæsar had set out for Italy; that otherwise neither the Carnutes would have been likely-to-take counsel for killing Tasgetius, nor, if he were present, were the Eburones likely-to-come to the camp with so great a contempt of us. That he did not look at the enemy as the adviser, but at the fact-of-the-case: that the Rhine was close at hand; that the death of Ariovistus and our former victories were a great grievance¹ to the Germans; that Gaul was smarting with so many insults received, having been brought under the dominion of the Roman people, their former glory in war² being destroyed. Lastly, who would persuade him (of) this, that Ambiorix had had recourse to a plan of this kind, without a certain fact (to go upon)? That his opinion was safe for either side (of the question): if it were nothing more serious (than they supposed), that they would reach the nearest legion with no danger; if all Gaul were conspiring with the Germans, that their one safety was placed in speed-of-action. Indeed what result had the advice of Cotta³ and of those who disagreed-with-himself? in which, if (there were) no immediate danger, yet, at any rate, hunger in a protracted siege was to be feared, 30. This dispute respecting both sides (of the question) having taken place, when a stout resistance⁴ was made by Cotta, and the front ranks, Sabinus said, "Have your way, if you wish it so," and this with a louder voice so that a great part of the soldiers over-heard; "nor am I the man," he said "to be the most seriously alarmed of you, by the danger of death: let these men know; if anything serious shall have happened, they will ask the reason from you; who, if they were permitted by you, having joined with the nearest winter-quarters on the day after tomorrow, would support the common chance of war, (and) would not, banished and separated far from the rest, perish either by sword or by famine." 31. They⁵ all rise up from the consultation; they catch hold of each (lieutenant) and pray them not to

1. *magno dolori*. dat. of the complement; *lit.* "were for a great grievance."

2. *rei militaris*—"war." *lit.* "military business."

3. *sc.* what end had it in view?

4. *Lit.* "when it was resisted keenly." Remember that *resisto* cannot be used personally in the pass. ("he was resisted") because it governs a dat. and therefore can be only used impersonally in the pass.

5. *Lit.* "It is risen up together."

bring the matter into the greatest peril by their own disagreement and obstinacy : that the thing is easy, whether they remain or whether they start, if only all think and approve one course ; that, on the other hand, in dissension they see no safety. The matter is protracted in dispute until midnight. At length Cotta, overcome, gives in : the opinion of Sabinus prevails. It is announced that they will go at dawn. The rest of the night is spent in wakefulness, since each soldier was examining his things, what he could carry with him, (and,) what he was compelled to leave behind out of the furniture of winter-quarters. All things are thought of, why they¹ cannot remain without danger and (why) by the fatigue of the soldiers and the watching the danger is increased. At dawn they start from the camp in-such-a-manner-as (men) who were persuaded that the advice had been given, not by an enemy, but by a most friendly person, Ambiorix, in a very long column and with very much baggage.

32. But the enemy, after that they perceived about the start, from the noise at night and the wakefulness-of-the-men, having posted ambushes in two divisions in the woods in a convenient and secret place about two miles off, awaited the approach of the Romans, and when the greater part of the line had descended² into a great valley, they suddenly shewed themselves from either side of that valley and began to harass the rear and hinder the foremost in the ascent and to engage in battle with our men in a very disadvantageous spot. 33. Then at length Titurius, in-as-much-as-he had foreseen nothing, became-agitated³ and ran about and (began to) set his cohorts, yet (he did) even these things in a frightened way and (in-such-a-manner) that all-resources seemed to fail him ; a thing which has been generally accustomed to happen to those who are compelled to take counsel at the very crisis. But Cotta, in-as-much-as-he had thought that these things might possibly happen on the march and for that reason had not been an adviser of starting, proved-wanting to the general safety in no respect, and performed the

1. *maneatur* : impersonal : notice that *nec* is followed, not by another *nec*, but by *et...et*. It therefore stands for *et...non*.

2. *se demississet*. *Lit.* : "had let itself down."

3. *trepido*. *Lit.* = to hurry, be in a fuss. The *infs.* here are "historic," i. e. they depend on some word like *cœpit* understood. The historic *inf.* is used in passages descriptive of strong emotion or excitement.

duties of a general in summoning and cheering on the soldiers, and of a soldier, in the fight. Since, on account of the length of the column, it was not easy to perform all the duties by themselves, and they could foresee what would happen in each place, they commanded (the officers) to order (the men) to leave the baggage behind and to form in a circle. A plan which, although it is not to be blamed in a case of that kind, yet turned out unfortunately; for it both lessened the hope of our soldiers and made the enemy more eager for battle, because this was seen to be done not without the greatest fear and despair. Besides it happened, a thing which was necessary should come to pass, that for the most part the soldiers departed from their standards and things which each of them held to be most valuable, he hastened to look for and snatch from the baggage, (and) all things were filled with shouting and lamentation. 34. But for the barbarians counsel was not lacking¹. For their leaders commanded (the officers) to announce down the whole line,² that no one was to depart from his place: that the booty was theirs, and, that there was kept in store for them whatever things the Romans had left behind: wherefore they³ were to think that all things were staked on victory. Our men were their match both in courage and in number of fighting⁴; notwithstanding that they were deserted by their general and by fortune, yet they placed all their hope of safety in courage, and as often as each cohort had run forward, a large number of the enemy fell in that quarter⁵. Which thing being noticed, Ambiorix commands it to be announced that they should throw their darts from a distance, and not approach too near, and to give way on whatsoever portion the Romans made an attack: that owing to the lightness of their arms and their daily practise they could not be hurt⁶: that, rallying themselves to the

1. *i. e.* The barbarians were not at a loss what plan to adopt.

2. *Lit.* "in the whole line."

3. *existimarent*. In *Or. Obl.* after a past tense, the 3rd pers. imperf. subj. represents an imperative of the 2nd pers. in *Or. Rect.* So that *existimarent* here represents *existimate*.

4. This is the translation of the passage as it stands, and does not seem to mean much. Peskett speaks of a reading, which has been proposed, *studio* for *numero*—"zeal in fighting."

5. *ab ea parte Lit.* "from the direction of (ab) that quarter."

6. *Lit.* "It could not be hurt to them."

standards, they¹ are to follow up again. 35. Which command having been most carefully observed by them, as soon as any cohort had come out from the circle and had made an attack, the enemy fled back with the utmost speed. Meanwhile it was necessary that that part was left-unprotected, and darts were received on the exposed flank. Again, when they² had begun to return to that place from which they had come out, they were surrounded both by those who had given way, and by those who had stood next-to-them; but if they wished to keep their place, neither was opportunity for courage left, nor could they avoid the darts thrown by so large a multitude, when packed together. Yet although harassed by so many disadvantages, many wounds having been received, they continued-to-hold-out and a great part of the day having been spent (since the fighting³ went on from dawn to the eighth hour) they did nothing which was unworthy of themselves. Then⁴ Titus Balventius, who had commanded the first century in the preceding year, a brave man and of great influence, has both thighs transfixed with a javelin; Quintus Lucanius of the same rank is killed, fighting gallantly, while coming to the rescue of his son who had been surrounded; Lucius Cotta the lieutenant while cheering on all the cohorts and ranks, is wounded⁵ in the front of the face by a sling. 36. Terrified by these things, Quintus Titurius, when he saw Ambiorix far off cheering on his men, sends his interpreter, Gneus Pompeius, to him to ask him to spare himself and his soldiers. He on being summoned replied: "That if he wishes to parley with him, he may; that⁶ he hoped that that which relates to the safety of the soldiers could be obtained from the multitude; that no harm shall be done to himself, and that he pledged his word for that matter." He (Titurius) communicates with the wounded Cotta, that, if it seem good to him, they should go out from the fighting and parley with Ambiorix: that he hoped⁶ that it (*sc.* his request) could be obtained from him

1. *insequantur*, in *Or. Obl.* after a *primary* tense, the *3rd pers. pres. subj.* represents a *2nd pers. imperat.* of the *Or. Recta.*

2. *Sc.* our men.

3. *Lit.* "It was fought."

4. The construction of this sentence is,—*utrumque femur* nominative to *trajicitur*: *Tito Balventio...viro forti*, &c., is in the "Dative of disadvantage," so the *literal translation* is "Each thigh is transfixed for Titus Balventius."

5. *os*, &c., *lit.* "as to his face in front," *accus.* of respect or part affected.

6. Understand *se* before *sperare*.

(*sc.* Ambiorix) about their own and the soldiers' safety. Cotta refuses to go to an armed foe and persists in that. 37. Sabinus orders the military tribunes and the centurions of the front ranks whom he had round him at the present moment, to follow him, and when he approached nearer to Ambiorix, being commanded to throw away his arms, he does what he is ordered, and commands his men to do the same. Meantime, while they are treating with one another about the conditions, and a somewhat long oration is begun by Ambiorix on purpose, having been gradually surrounded, he is killed. Then indeed they shout victory in their own fashion and raise a yelling, and having made a charge on our men, they break the ranks. There Lucius Cotta is killed fighting, along with the greatest part of the soldiers. The rest retreat to the camp from which they had come out. Of whom Lucius Petrosidius the standard-bearer, when he was being hard pressed by a large crowd of the enemy, flung the standard inside the fortification, (and) he himself is killed, fighting gallantly in front of the camp. Those support the attack with difficulty until night; by night they all, to a man, kill themselves with their own hands (*ipsi*), having despaired of safety. A few having escaped from the battle come by uncertain paths to Titus Labienus, the lieutenant, to his winter-quarters and inform him about what had happened.

38. Elated by this victory, Ambiorix at once sets out with the cavalry for the Aedui, who were neighbours to his kingdom; he halts neither night nor day and commands the infantry to follow after him. The matter having been made known and the Aedui summoned, on the next day he goes on to the Nervii, and exhorts them not to let slip an opportunity of liberating themselves for ever, and of punishing the Romans for those injuries which they have received: he points out that two lieutenants have been killed, and a large part of the enemy have perished; that it is not a difficult matter¹, that the legion, which is wintering with Cicero, should be suddenly surprised and killed; he professes himself an ally for that purpose. By this speech he easily persuades the Nervii. 39. And so, messengers having been hastily despatched to the Ceutrones, Grudii, Levaci, Pleumoxii, (and) Geidumni, who are all under their command,

1. *Lit.* "That it is nothing of a business."

they collect as large bands as possible, and suddenly attack Cicero's winter-quarters, the report about the death of Titurius not having been brought to him yet. For him also it happened, a-thing-which was unavoidable, that some soldiers, who had gone off into the woods for the sake of getting-timber and (materials for) fortification, were unexpectedly cut off by the arrival of the cavalry. These having been surrounded by a great band, the Eburones, Nervii, Aduatuci and the allies and dependents of all these begin to attack the legion. Our men quickly run together to their arms (and) mount the stockade. With difficulty (the fight of) that day is maintained, because the enemy placed all hope in speed, and having obtained this victory, they trusted that they would be conquerors for ever. 40. A letter is hastily despatched by Cicero to Cæsar, large rewards being held out (to the messengers), if they took it to him: all the roads being beset, the messengers are cut off. By night, out of the timber, which they had brought together for the purpose of fortification, towers to the number of one hundred and twenty are built up with incredible swiftness; the things which seemed to be wanting to the work, are completed. The enemy on the next day, much larger forces having been collected, attack the camp (and) fill up the trench. Resistance-is-made by our men in the same way as yesterday. This same thing is done on the remaining days, one after another. No part of the night-time is given over for labour²; not to the sick, not to the wounded is opportunity of rest given. Whatever things are needed³ for the attack of the next day, are made ready by night; many stakes charred at the end, (and) a large number of battlement javelins are arranged; towers are built up, storey by storey; pinnacles and breastworks are fastened together out of fascines. Cicero himself, although he was in very delicate health, was leaving not even the night time for himself for rest, so that he was compelled to spare himself, without-wishing-to, by the running together and the clamour of the soldiers. 41. Then the leaders and chieftains of the Nervii who had some right of access and cause for friendship with Cicero, say that they wish to parley with him. An opportunity

1. *i.e.* "if they obtained."

2. *i.e.* the labour is not relaxed at any time.

3. Notice the meaning of *opus* here=want, necessity; an indeclinable noun, not to be confused with *opus*=work.

having been granted, they relate the same things which Ambiorix had treated of with Titurius : that all Gaul was in arms ; that the Germans had crossed the Rhine ; that the winter-quarters of Cæsar and the rest were being attacked. They add also about the death of Sabinus : they shew Ambiorix for the purpose of establishing confidence. They say that those men who mistrust their fortunes, are mistaken, if they hope for any protection from these ; that they themselves, however, are of this mind to Cicero and the Roman people, that they refuse them nothing except winter-quarters, and that they are unwilling that this custom should become established : that they (*sc.* the Romans) are permitted to depart safe by themselves from the winter-quarters, and to set out without fear for whatsoever parts they desire. Cicero replied only one thing to these-proposals : that it was not the custom of the Roman people to accept terms from an armed foe : if they wished to give up fighting, let them employ him as an assistant and send envoys to Cæsar ; that he hoped in regard of his (Cæsar's) justice, that they would obtain the things which they sought. 42. Being disappointed of this hope the Nervii surround the winter-quarters with a stockade of nine feet and a trench of fifteen feet. These things they had both learnt from us by our practise of former years, and they used to be instructed by these whom they had as prisoners from our army. But there being no supply of iron tools, which was needful for this employment, they tried to cut out the turfs with swords, and to clear out the earth with their hands and cloaks. By which thing, indeed, the multitude of the men could be learnt : for in less than three hours they finished a rampart of fifteen miles in circumference, and in the remaining days they began to get ready and make towers to the height of the rampart, hooks and tortoises, which the same captives had taught them. 43. On the seventh day of the attack, a very great wind having arisen, they begin to throw red hot bullets of kneaded clay from slings and blazing javelins on to the huts, which had been built of straw in the Gallic fashion. These quickly caught fire and by the greatness of the wind spread it to every part of the camp. The enemy, with a very great shout, as if victory had already been won and assured, begin to move up the towers and tortoises, and to climb the stockade with ladders. But so great was the courage of the soldiers and such their resolution, that, though everywhere they were scorched by the flame and were hard pressed with a very

great multitude of darts and (though) they understood that all their baggage and all their fortunes were being consumed in the flames, not only did no one depart from the stockade for the purpose of retiring, but almost no one looked back even and then all fought with the utmost spirit and valour. This day was by far the most serious for our men ; but yet it had this result, that on that day a very large number of the enemy were wounded and killed, just as they had massed themselves under the stockade itself, and the hindmost did not afford a retreat for the front ones. The fire indeed having ceased for a little and a tower having been brought up in a certain place and touching the stockade, the centurions of the third cohort retreated from that place where they were standing, (and) began to call the enemy with gesture and with shouts, if they wished to enter ; none of whom dared to advance. Then stones having been hurled from every side they were dislodged and the tower was set on fire.

44. There were in that legion some very gallant men, centurions, who were likely to attain to the front rank, Titus Pulio and Lucius Vorenus. These men used-to-have continual disputes with one another, which should be preferred, and every year they strove in the keenest emulation about the (different) posts. Of these men Pulio, when the fight was going on very keenly at the fortifications, said "Why do you hesitate, Vorenus ? or what opportunity of proving your valour do you wait for ? This day will decide about our disputes." When he had said these things he advances outside the fortifications and where it seemed the densest part of the enemy, he charges in. Not even Vorenus then keeps himself in the stockade, but fearing the opinion of all, follows after. Then, when a little space was (still) left, Pulio hurls his javelin at the enemy and pierces one as he was running forward from the crowd ; and he being struck and killed,¹ they protect him with their shields, (and) all together fling their darts at the (solitary) foe nor give him an opportunity of retiring. Pulio's shield is transfixed and a javelin enters his belt. This accident turns aside his scabbard and impedes his right hand while trying² to draw his sword, and while-thus-hampered the

1. Or perhaps *exanimato* only—"having swooned."

2. *conanti*, another "Dative of disadvantage :"^{lit.} "for him trying."

enemy surround him. His enemy Vorenus comes to his aid and succours him in distress. The whole crowd turn themselves hastily from Pulio to this man; they think that he (Pulio) has been killed by the javelin. Vorenus fights hand to hand with his sword, and having killed one, drives off the rest a little; while he is pressing on too eagerly, being carried down into a lower place he falls. To this man, surrounded in his turn, Pulio brings aid, and both return unharmed inside the fortifications with the greatest applause, having killed very many. Thus did fortune vary-the-luck-of each man in their rivalry and emulation, so that the one enemy was a help¹ and cause-of-safety to the other, nor could it be decided which seemed fit-to-be-preferred to which in valour. 45. The more serious and severe the attack became day by day, (and especially because a great part of the soldiers having been rendered useless² from wounds the matter had come to only a few defenders³), the more frequent⁴ letters and messengers kept being sent to Cæsar; a part of whom having been caught were put to death in the sight of our soldiers with torture. There was one Nervian inside by name Vertico, born of honourable rank, who from the beginning of the blockade had deserted to Cicero and had pledged his word to him. This man persuades a slave by the hope of liberty and by large rewards, to carry a letter to Cæsar. This letter tied on a javelin he carries out and passing without any suspicion, a Gaul among Gauls, he reaches Cæsar. From him news is learnt about the dangers of Cicero and his legion. 46. Cæsar having received the letter about the eleventh hour of the day, at once sends a messenger to the Bellovaci to Marcus Crassus the quæstor, whose winter-quarters were twenty-five miles distant from him: he commands the legion to set out at midnight and come to him quickly. Crassus goes out with the messenger. He sends a second to Gaius Fabius the lieutenant, to bring a legion to the territory of the Atrebatæ, by which way he knows the journey is-to-be-made. He writes to Labienus to come to the territory of the Nervii with a

1. *auxilio* and *saluti* are datives of the complement; *lit.* "was for a help."

2. *Lit.* "used up:" perhaps it may mean actually "having died."

3. *Lit.* "to a fewness of defenders."

4. *Quanto gravior &c. tanto crebriores*, *lit.* "By how much more severe...by so much more frequent."

legion, if he could do so to the advantage of the state.¹ He does not think that the remaining portion of the army, which was a little further distant, should be waited for; he collects about four hundred cavalry from the nearest winter-quarters. 47. Being informed about the third hour by men-sent-on-in-front, about the approach of Crassus, he advances on that day twenty miles. He appoints Crassus over Samarobriua and assigns him a legion, because he was leaving there the baggage of the army, the hostages of the states, the public despatches and all the corn which he had brought thither for the purpose of enduring the winter. Fabius, as his orders were², not having delayed so very much³ on the march, meets him with the legion. Labienus, the destruction of Sabinus and the slaughter of the legions having been learnt⁴, when all the forces of the Treveri had come to him, fearing lest, if he should have made a start from the winter-quarters like a flight, he would not be able to withstand the attack of the enemy, especially⁵ as he knew them to be elated by their late victory, sends back a letter to Cæsar, (saying) with how much danger he would lead out the legion from the winter-quarters, he relates fully what had happened among the Eburones, he informs him that all the forces of the cavalry and infantry of the Treveri had encamped three miles distant from his own camp. 48. Cæsar, having approved of his resolution, although, being disappointed in his expectation of three legions, he had returned to two, yet placed the only assistance to the general safety in speed. He comes by forced marches to the territory of the Nervii. There he learns from prisoners, what things are being done with Cicero, and in what danger the matter is. Then he persuades by (promises of) large rewards a certain one of the Gaulish horsemen, to carry a letter to Cicero. He sends this written in Greek characters, lest, if the letter be intercepted⁶, our plans should be learnt by the enemy. He advises (the messenger), if he is unable to get near, to throw a javelin with the letter fastened to the strap, inside the ramparts. In the letter he

1. *Sc.* without doing anything that might injure the Roman interests.

2. *Lit.* "as it had been commanded."

3. *Sc.* "Having delayed as little as possible."

4. *cognitâ* really goes with *interitu* as well as with *caede*, but it agrees with the nearest one.

5. *praesertim quos, lit.* "especially (of an enemy) whom he knew," &c.

6. *epistolâ interceptâ, abl. abs.* for a conditional clause with *si*.

writes that he, having set out with the legions, will soon be present; he exhorts him to keep up his old courage. The Gaul, fearing the risk, throws the javelin, as it had been enjoined him. This by chance stuck to a tower, and not having been noticed by our men for two days, is observed on the third day by a certain soldier, (and) being taken is carried to Cicero. He peruses it and reads it out¹ in an assembly of the soldiers and fills them all with the utmost joy. Then the smokes of fires were seen afar off; a circumstance which dispelled all doubt of the approach of the legions. 49. The Gauls, the thing having been learnt by means of scouts, leave the siege (and) hasten to Cæsar with all their forces. These were about sixty thousand armed-troops. Cicero, the opportunity being given, asks-again for a Gaul from the same Vertico, whom we spoke of above, to carry a letter to Cæsar; he cautions him to² make the journey with care and diligence: he writes-fully in the letter that the enemy have departed from himself and have turned all their numbers to him (Cæsar). Which letter having been brought at about midnight, Cæsar informs his men and encourages them in mind for fighting. On the next day at dawn, he moves the camp and after advancing about four miles, he descries the multitude of the enemy across the valley and river. It was a matter of great danger to fight with such small forces in a disadvantageous position; then, since he knew that Cicero was delivered from siege, he thought that he might relax his speed without anxiety:³ he halted and fortifies a camp in as advantageous a place as possible, and this (camp), although it was small in itself, (consisting) of scarcely seven thousand men, especially (when they were) without baggage, yet he contracts⁴ by narrow streets,⁵ as much as possible, for the purpose that he may come into the greatest contempt with the enemy.⁶ Meanwhile

1. *Perlectam recitat. lit.* "He reads it out having-been-perused."

2. Understand *ut* after *admonet*.

3. *Lit.* "He thought that it could be relaxed (he could relax) from speed with an even mind."

4. This is the literal translation, keeping *haec* as object after *contrahit*: better English would be "And although this (camp) was small in itself.....yet he contracts *it*."

5. *Sc.* The streets or passages of a camp: notice the expression; *lit.* "By narrowness of the ways;" a sort of hendiadys.

6. *hostibus, lit.* "for the enemy:" dative of advantage or disadvantage.

scouts having been sent off in all directions he finds out by what route the valley can be crossed most advantageously. 50. On that day, some insignificant cavalry skirmishes having been fought near the water, both sides keep themselves in their own position: the Gauls, because they were waiting for larger forces which had not yet assembled; Cæsar, (to see) if, by semblance of fear he could entice the enemy to his own ground, in order that he might fight a battle on this side of the valley in front of the camp, (or) if he could not do that, in order that, having explored the routes, he might cross the valley and the river with less danger. At dawn the cavalry approach the camp and join battle with our cavalry. Cæsar orders the cavalry to yield on purpose and to retire within the camp, at the same time he orders the camp to be fortified on all sides with a higher stockade and the gates to be blocked up, and in performing these orders, that there should be as much running about¹ as possible, and that it should be done with the pretence of fear. 51. And the enemy being enticed by all these things lead over their forces and draw up the line of battle in a disadvantageous position, but, our men having been brought down even from the stockade, they come up nearer and fling darts from all sides inside the fortifications, and having sent heralds round, they order it to be announced, that if any one, whether Gaul or Roman, wishes to come over to them before the third hour, he may do so without danger; that after that time there will not be an opportunity: and they so despised our men that, the gates having been blocked up for show, with a row of turfs each², because they thought they were unable to burst through them, some began to tear down the stockade with the hand, others to fill up the trenches. Then Cæsar, a sortie having been made from all the gates and the cavalry sent out quickly, puts the enemy to flight, so that no one at all stood his ground for the purpose of fighting, and he killed a great number of them and stripped them all of their arms.

52. Fearing to follow them too far, because woods and marshes intervened, nor did he see that opportunity was left for (inflicting) even a slight damage upon them³, all his forces being

1. *Lit.* "that it should be run about:" impersonal.

2. *singulis* means "with one set of turfs to each gate."

3. *illorum*, is objective genitive, *lit.* "for a slight damage of them."

safe, he came on the same day to Cicero. He wonders at the towers which had been set up, the tortoises and the fortifications of the enemy; the legion being paraded, he learns that not every tenth soldier was left without a wound;¹ from all these things he judges with how great danger and with how great courage the fight has been kept up². He highly-praises Cicero in proportion to his desert, and the legion also; he addresses the centurions and the military tribunes one by one, whose valour, he had learnt from Cicero's testimony, had been distinguished. About the disaster of Sabinus and Cotta he learns more surely from prisoners. On the next day, an assembly having been held, he comforts and cheers up the soldiers: a loss which has been received by the fault and rashness of an officer, this, he teaches them, should be borne with a calmer mind, because, the harm having been atoned for by the kindness of the immortal gods and by *their* valour, there is left neither a long (time of) rejoicing for the enemy nor a longer mourning for themselves.

53. Meantime news about Cæsar's victory is carried through to Labienus by means of the Remi with incredible speed, so that, although he was distant from Cicero's winter-quarters about sixty miles, and Cæsar had come thither after the ninth hour of the day, before midnight a shouting arose at the gates of his camp, by which shouting news of the victory and congratulations were borne to Labienus by the Remi. This report having reached the Treveri, Indutiomarus, who had determined to attack the camp of Labienus on the next day, flies by night and leads back all the forces of the Treveri. Cæsar sends back Fabius with his legion to the winter-quarters, he himself determines to winter with three legions in three sets of winter-quarters, near Samarobriua, and, because such great disturbances of Gaul had arisen, he himself resolved to remain the whole winter with the army³. For that disaster about the death of Sabinus having been published, nearly all the states of Gaul were consulting about war, were sending off messengers and embassies in all directions, were find-

1. *i.e.* that in every ten soldiers there was scarcely one who had escaped unwounded.

2. *Lit.* "The things have been managed." In Latin *res* is as vague as our word "thing" or "things" in English, and is used even more loosely. A definite meaning for it has generally to be borrowed from the context.

3. *Lit.* "at the army."

ing out what remaining plan they should adopt, and from what point the beginning of the war should be made and were holding night meetings in desert places. Nor did any period of almost the whole winter intervene without anxiety to Cæsar¹, or without² his receiving some message about the plans and excitement of the Gauls. Among these (messages) he was informed by Lucius Roscius, whom he had appointed to the thirteenth legion, that large forces of Gauls, of those states which are called Aremoricæ, had assembled for the purpose of attacking him, and were not further distant from his winter-quarters than eight miles, but, news having been brought about Cæsar's victory, that they had departed, in such a manner that their departure seemed like a flight. 54. But Cæsar, the chiefs of each state having been summoned to him, kept a large part of Gaul in allegiance, at one time by frightening them, when he declared that he knew what things were being done, at another time by encouraging them. However the Senones, which is a state especially strong and of great influence among the Gauls, having endeavoured to put to death by public resolution Cavarinus (whom Cæsar had appointed king among them, whose brother Moritasgus had held the kingdom,³ at the coming of Cæsar into Gaul and whose ancestors had held the kingdom), when he had perceived the plot beforehand and escaped, having pursued him right up to the borders, drove him from kingdom and home, and having sent ambassadors to Cæsar for the purpose of satisfying him, when he had commanded all their senate to come to him, they did not obey the order⁴. With the

1. *solicit.* Cæs., *lit.* "anxiety of (sc. felt by) Cæsar."

2. *quin*, *lit.*—"but that."

3. These words must be supplied from *regnum obtinuerant* in the next clause.

4. In order to understand this long and complicated sentence (which is translated above as literally as possible), take out first the principal sentences and omit all the dependent ones: *Tamen Senones* [1] *Cavarinum* [2] *interficere publico consilio conati*, [3] *usque ad fines insecuti, regno domoque expulerunt et, (missis &c.) dicto audientes non fuerunt*. Now, examining the dependent clauses, we find that bracket number 1. explains who the Senones were, number 2. (from *quem Cæsar to obtinuerant*) gives the previous history of Cavarinus and his family, and number 3. explains how their first attempt failed. Such a sentence in Latin would best be rendered in English by splitting it up into a number of short independent sentences: e.g. "The Senones were a powerful and influential state. They had made an attempt to kill Cavarinus publicly, whose brother had formerly held the kingdom. He having escaped, they pursued him and drove him out. Then they sent messengers, &c."

barbarians the fact was of such great influence that some had been found as leaders in making war and it brought to all such a revulsion of feeling, that, excepting the Aedui and Remi, whom Cæsar always held in especial honour, the one for their ancient and continued good faith towards the Roman people, the other for their late services in (*lit.* of) the Gallic war, almost no state was not suspected by us. And I do not know whether this is so much to be wondered at, both¹ from several other causes, and especially because, those men who excelled all nations in warlike valour, took it very sorely to heart that they had lost so much of that reputation that they submitted to commands from the Roman people. 55. But the Treveri and Indutiomarus let pass no time of the whole winter without sending envoys across the Rhine, tampering with the states, promising sums of money, (and) saying that, a great part of our army having been killed, a much smaller part survived. And yet it was not possible to persuade any state² of the Germans to cross the Rhine, since they said they had twice tried it, in the war of Ariovistus and in the crossing of the Tencteri : that they would not tempt fortune any more. Though-disappointed in this hope, Indutiomarus none the less begins to collect forces, to practice them, to get ready horses from the neighbouring provinces, (and) to entice to him exiles and condemned men from the whole of Gaul by large rewards. And he had already made for himself so great an influence in Gaul by these measures, that embassies hastened to him from all sides (and) sought his favour and friendship both in public and private³. 56. When he understood that they came⁴ to him unsolicited, that on the one side the Senones and the Carnutes were urged on by participation in the transaction, that on the other, the Nervii and Aduatuci were preparing war against the Romans, and that forces of volunteers would not be wanting to him, if he began to advance from his territory, he appoints an armed meeting. This, by the custom of the Gauls, is the beginning of war : at-the-place-where, by a common law, all the full grown males were accustomed to assemble in arms, he who arrives

1. Notice *cum...tum*—"both...and."

2. *Lit.* "To be persuaded to any state," impersonal.

3. *Sc.* both states and individuals sought it.

4. *veniri*, impersonal : *lit.* "that it was come," "That a coming was made."

the last of them is put to death in the sight of the multitude after being punished with every torture. At that assembly he judges as a public foe, Cingetorix, the chief of the other faction, his own son in law, (whom we have shewn above to have followed the allegiance of Cæsar (and) not to have departed from him,) and makes his possessions public property. These things having been finished in the assembly, he declares that he has been sent for by the Senones and Carnutes, and by several other states of Gaul; that he will go thither (*lit.* hither) through the territory of the Remi and will lay waste their fields, and, before he does that, that he will attack the camp of Labienus. He gives orders as to what things he wishes to be done. 57. Labienus, since he held himself in a camp well-fortified both by the nature of the place, and by art, feared nothing about his own and the legion's danger; he began to devise means that he might not lose an opportunity of performing an exploit.² And so, the speech of Indutiomarus which he had made in the assembly, having been learnt from Cingetorix and his friends, he sends messengers to the neighbouring states and calls out cavalry from every side: to these he appoints a fixed day of assembling. Meantime almost every day Indutiomarus was wandering about close to (*lit.* under) his camp with all his cavalry, sometimes to learn the position of the camp, sometimes for the purpose of parleying with or frightening him: all the cavalry generally threw their darts inside the stockade. Labienus kept his own men inside the fortification and increased their (*the Gauls'*) belief in his alarm by whatever means he could. 58. When, with daily increasing contempt, Indutiomarus approached the camp, one night the cavalry of all the neighbouring states, which he had taken care to be sent for, having been let-into-the-camp, he kept all his men inside the camp with so great diligence, by means of keeping guard, that by no means was that fact able to be announced or carried to the Treveri. Meantime, according to his daily custom, Indutiomarus approaches the camp and there spends a great part of the day; the horsemen fling darts and with great abuse³

1. "he" = Indutiomarus.

2. Or, perhaps better simply "of managing the business well."

3. *Lit.* "with great abuse of words" *sc. consisting in words: gen. of material.*

challenge our men to fight. No answer being given by our men, when it seemed good to them about evening, having broken up and scattered, they depart. Suddenly Labienus sends out all the cavalry at two gates; he gives them a command and a prohibition, that, when the enemy have been panic-struck and put to flight (which he saw would come to pass, as it did happen) they were all to make for Indutiomarus alone, and no¹ one is to wound any one before that he sees him killed, because he did not wish that he (*Indutiomarus*) should escape, having obtained time (to do so) by their delaying over the rest; he holds out large rewards for those who shall have killed him; he sends-after-them the cohorts for a help to the cavalry. Fortune justifies man's device, and when they all attacked him-alone, Indutiomarus being caught in the very ford of the river is killed, and his head is carried back to the camp: the cavalry, while returning, follow up and kill those whom they can. This matter having become known, all the forces of the Eburones and the Nervii, which had come together depart and a little after this was done, Cæsar had Gaul in a quieter state.

1. *ne quis quem*, for *et ne quis quem*: after a negative the indefinite "any" is translated by "*quisquam*" or the shorter form *quis*; *quem* is *acc.* of *quis*.

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